



# States' People's Conference

ORIGIN AND ROLE IN RAJASTHAN

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## PREFACE

The history of national movement of India remains incomplete without an analytical study of the work of States' People's Conference. Whereas voluminous literature has been produced on various aspects of freedom movement, no one has so far attempted a work on this important aspect.

The All India States' People's Conference not only created a political awakening among the people in the Indian States but also fought for their rights, their share in the government and their dynamic participation in the future political set up of the country.

This is the first attempt at writing a critical history of the work of States' People's Conference in Rajasthan. It is based on study of available original sources and also modern works in English, Hindi and Rajasthani languages. It was an uphill task to have studied such a diverse material and to utilize it in the preparation of this work. The condensing of all this copious material into nearly 200 pages was as difficult a task as sifting evidences contained in archival files, other government records, private papers, newspapers, weeklies and other published works. Diverse material has been collated, interpreted and assimilated in the present work.



The author is grateful to all those who have generously permitted him to make use of valuable historical documents in their possession. He is beholden to the authorities of the National Archives of India, New-Delhi, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner and Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi for permission to make use of the material in their possession. He is also thankful to Sarv Shri Ram Narain Chowdhury, Ajmer, Suraj Prakash Papa' Babu Lal Pangadia, Champa Lal Ranka and Prof. Gokul Lal Asawa for their help. He is also thankful to the University Grants Commission for their helping gesture of a Teacher Fellowship.

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**Vishnu Dayal Mathur**

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The State of Rajasthan, formerly known as Rajputana, is known for its unique history and glorious traditions. Its past record of chivalry and selfless sacrifices have attracted the attention of people. Comparing it with the history of Great Britain Col James Tod observed, "*Cœur de Lion* would not remain so long in the dungeons had his subjects been Rajputs"<sup>1</sup> His abode of many Rajput Rulers made him to say "There is not a petty State in Rajasthan that has not had its Thermopylae and scarcely a city that not produced its Leonidas."<sup>2</sup> Truly, the impressive exploits of Bappa Rawal and Maharana Pratap of Mewar, Maharaja Mansingh Jai Singh and Mirza Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur, Maldev, Jaswant and Durga Das of Marwar, Zalim Singh of Kota, Rao Chattursal Hada of Bundi, Padam and Kehri of Bikaner, Chachak Deo of Jaisalmer; Suraj Mal of Bharatpur, and a host of other known and unknown persons have become legends in the historic land of Rajasthan, who naturally arrest the thought of any one to whom history makes an appeal.<sup>3</sup> Its rulers, mostly Rajputs, were "energetic, chivalrous fond of battle and bloodshed, animated by a strong spirit, were ready to meet face to face and were at all times prepared to lay down their lives for their honour"<sup>4</sup> The history of different Rajput

James Tod Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan Vol I Calcutta 1884 p 181

<sup>2</sup> Ibid p 210

<sup>3</sup> Speech by the Viceroy Irwin at Bikaner on 29th January 1927.

<sup>4</sup> S Lane Poole 'Babar' Bombay 1931 p 176

dynasties who played a leading part in Northern India "is so full of glorious incidents and interesting anecdotes that volumes can not exhaust them." <sup>1</sup>

Yet, these Rajput rulers being averse to unity failed to take a united stand against the heavy odds and thus could not extend their political authority beyond the limits of their mountains and deserts. Absorbed in civil wars and clan rivalries, the history of Rajputs is only a tragic story of their lost opportunities <sup>2</sup>

However the Rajputs have played a dominating role in the making of Indian history through the ages. They were a force to reckon with when the British were attempting to devour the entire country under their alluring imperialistic banner.

### Rajasthan and the British :

Prior to the British ascendancy the independent States in Rajasthan were mostly ruled by different branches of Rajputs—'Sisodias' who ruled over Udaipur (Mewar), Banswara, Dungarpur and Pratapgarh, 'Chauhans' over Bundi, Kota and Sirohi, 'Rathores' over Jodhpur (Marwar), Bikaner and Kishangarh, 'Jadoas' over Karauli and Jaisalmer, 'Aacharas' over Jaipur and Alwar, and 'Jhalas' over Jhalawar. Only two States of Bharatpur and Dholpur were ruled over by Jat rulers and a Mohammadan dynasty ruled over the State of Tonk <sup>3</sup>. All these were later combined<sup>4</sup> into the present State of Rajasthan in the Indian Union after Independence.

1 J. C. Chakrabarti 'The Native States of India, Calcutta 1895 p. viii

2 A. C. Banerjee : The Rajput States and the East India Company, Calcutta 1951 p. 415

3 Mohammadan adventurer and former Commander in Chief of Holkar's army Amir Khan with a well organized army of 30,000 men was living at free quarters in Rajputana seeking a kingdom. The Governor General Lord Hastings allowed to extend him British protection and Amir Khan was settled down as territorial chief under the title of Nawab of Tonk.

—The Origin, Rise and Consolidation of the Indian States—a British Assessment, Delhi 1929 p. 95

4 First of all Matsya Union was formed on 17th March 1948 consisting of the States of Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur and Karauli.

Then a Union of Rajasthan was formed on 25th March 1948 consisting of Kota, Tonk, Bundi, Jhalawar, Pratapgarh, Dungarpur, Banswara

The Rajputs of medieval Rajasthan were zealous protector of their religion, land and womenfolk. They considered battle field as the most appropriate place to die in. This was an enigma to the Mughal Emperor to settle with. Akbar, the Great, devised the novel method of seeking their alliance through matrimonial relations with them. The Rajputs as a race revealed remarkable capacity for compromise when they yielded up their daughters to be mothers of Muslim Princes and provided the Mughals the best military acumen that India could offer.<sup>1</sup> The Rajputs being its pillars and ornaments the Mughal Empire in India was not only firmly established but they made significant contributions to the development of literature and art. But Emperor Aurangzeb deviated from this policy and he initiated the Rajput wars which lingered on throughout Aurangzeb's reign, increased his difficulties in the Deccan, and, in the end, 'powerfully contributed both to lower his reputation, to exhaust his resources and to undermine his power'.<sup>2</sup> This led to the disintegration of the Mughal Empire after the death of Aurangzeb. Rajasthan became a Zoological garden with the barriers of the cages thrown open and keepers removed the fiercest animal passion reigned throughout the land.<sup>3</sup>

However, a legacy of dependence upon the Mughals for security made them incapable to protect their own frontiers and stabilize their exchequers. Their individual military system

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→ Kishangarh Shahpura Lawa and Kushalgarh Uda pur joined it on 18th April 1948. On 7th April 1949 Jaipur Jodhpur Bikaner and Jaisalmer joined.

Finally on 15th May 1949 the two Unions were amalgamated to make Rajasthan a part—B State in Indian Union. While major parts of Sirohi were merged in Rajasthan on 26th January 1950. M. Abu was given to Bombay. On 1st November 1956 Abu and formerly centrally administered part—C State of Ajmer were added with some minor adjustments on its border.

— Report on Administration of Rajasthan 1950-51 "Jaipur p 2, and "States Reorganization Committee Report," Delhi 1955 p 139.

- 1 Laxman Singh. Political and Constitutional Development in the Princely States of Rajasthan (1920-1959) New Delhi 1970 p 22.
- 2 Sydney Owen. "India on the Eve of British Conquest," Calcutta 1954 p 41.
- 3 J. N. Sarkar. "Fall of the Mughal Empire" Vol. I p 131.

proved to be too weak to combat successfully an encounter from the outside forces. The rulers fell an easy prey not only to the attacks of an ambitious neighbour but also to the intermittent terror that the Marathas the Pindaris the Pathans and the Jats struck from time to time during the fall of the Mughal Empire. The ambitious Jagirdars ever mindful of their own power and prestige thought it to be the opportune moment for increasing their strength and rebelled against the authority of the ruler.

The rulers of different states in Rajasthan now found it difficult to maintain law and order in these difficult circumstances. Their decadent position led them to advocate that some power in India had always existed to which the peace loving States submitted and in return obtained protection against the invasions of power-seekers upstart chiefs and armies of lawless bandits<sup>1</sup>. These rulers realized that the British East India Company occupied the place of that protecting power and was the natural guardian of weak States. As such almost all the rulers sent their *Vakils* in response to Lord Hastings' call for subsidiary alliance and between 1803 to 1821 the States of Rajasthan concluded their protective alliances with the British. The engagements contracted with the British by the ruling chiefs of Rajasthan provided the desired protection to them against internal and external dangers on payment and loyal co-operation with the paramount power.

Though internal independence was assured yet the terms of treaties were calculated more to provoke and irritate than to conciliate and attach a warlike and high spirited race of men like the Rajputs<sup>2</sup>. As a result of the treaties a British Resident was stationed in each State for the administrative and supervisory control. The legal position of the British Resident was only that of an ambassador but in fact they assumed the functions of a dictator by conducting all negotiations of the States and keeping the British Government well informed of all petty occurrences at the courts. They offered advice and when

1 "White Paper on India States," Government of India, New Delhi, 1950, p. 8.

2 S. B. Chaudhuri, "Civil Disturbances During the British Rule in India (1765-1857)," Calcutta, 1955, p. 48.

requested, arbitrated on differences among neighbouring rulers and also between the ruler and his subjects. In fact, their interference in all State affairs and even in the private affairs of the rulers together with countenance of refractory subjects against them with most ostentatious exhibitions of their powers<sup>1</sup> made the Britishers unpopular with the Rulers, Jagirdars and people of the States in Rajasthan.

The Princes had signed their treaties with the British East India Company under their compulsive circumstances to ensure security but they soon realized the loss of their age-old independence and felt that they were no longer sovereign rulers of their ancestral states but in fact had been reduced to the position of mere Vassals of the British Government. Naturally, they chafed under the control clamped on them.<sup>2</sup> Their earlier illusion that under no supreme government would their rights and privileges be so secured as under the British<sup>3</sup> was soon shattered and they took every opportunity of showing their resentment in the first half of the 19th century.

Maharaja Man Singh of Jodhpur (Marwar) (1803-43) tried his level best to minimize the British intervention in internal administration and though he signed a friendly treaty with the British, never compromised with his authority. He provided shelter to the British enemies, such as, Jaswant Rao Holkar, Amir of Sindh and Appa Sahib of Nagpur. Thus, he tried more to flout the treaty concluded with British in 1818 rather than to adhere to it.<sup>4</sup>

The Princes got suspicious of the British intentions when they supported the unreasonable claims of Zalim Singh Jhala and his successors in the provisions of the supplementary treaty of 1818 to make him the Kota ruler. Maharao Kishore Singh

1 K M Pannikar 'An Introduction to the Study of the Relations of Indian States with the government of India' London 1927 p 103 states that— The whisper of the residency was the thunder of the States and that advice of the Resident was usually an order of a command

2 M L Sharma "Proceedings of Rajasthan History Congress" Jaipur 1967 p 10

3 N R Khadgawat "Rajasthan's Role in Struggle of 1857," p 1

4 R P Vyas 'Maharaja Man Singh and His Anti British Feelings,' Indian History Congress Proceedings Bhopalpur 1966 pp 87 88

of Kote together with his supporters took up arms and in the engagement at Mangrol, where British officers were killed <sup>1</sup>

At Jaipur during the regency of Rani Bhatiani there was a strong party headed by Jootha Ram who opposed the British interference in the administration of the State <sup>2</sup>

Like the rulers of the States of Rajasthan, the Jagirdars also resented the increased British influence in their States. The ruler's dependence upon his British allies made him totally oblivious of the traditional military support from Jagirdars<sup>3</sup> and envy, hatred and all uncharitableness further led to the confiscation of their land and possessions <sup>4</sup> The Jagirdars held the British alliances responsible for their unhappy plight and expressed their resentment in different ways

The Jagirdars of Marwar and Shekhawati resisted the British penetrations and Rathore Bhomji made an attempt on the life of Captain Ludlow in 1839<sup>5</sup> at the time of the occupation of the Fort of Jodpur by the British troops Rao Berisal, a powerful chief, rebelled in 1830 against the authority of Maharaja of Bikaner who was under the control of British allies <sup>6</sup>

### The People's Resentment

The people in the different States of Rajasthan too resented the British influence. To the Muslim domination the

1 M L Sharma "Kota Rajya Ka Itihas," Vol II p 561

2 M L Sharma "Proceedings of Rajasthan History Congress, Jodhpur Session, Jaipur 1968 p 11

3 The Jagirdars in different States of Rajputana held their lands on military tenure and were bound to furnish their stipulated quotas of troops to the State. Their possessions were hereditary but not saleable

—Colonel James Sutherland the Agent to the Government General in Rajputana (1839-41) to T H Maddock Officiating Secretary to Government with Governor General Correspondence between 15th May-28th June 1841 No 32 Foreign and Political Department National Archives of India New Delhi

4 *ibid*

5 V N Rau "Marwar Ka Itihas", Vol II Footnote 2 p 435

6 Foreign and Political Department Dated 23rd October 1830 No 36 Political Correspondence

Princes, Jagirdars and people had gradually become accustomed, because the Muslims had been ruling for many centuries and had come to be regarded as Indians. But the English were cent per cent alien because of their language, religion, culture, complexion and country which was so distant and generally unknown to the masses. Therefore, there was a great popular resentment against the establishment of a new foreign government in the States. Apart from the domination of an alien power, which people did not like, they found that the rulers had become unresponsive to their grievances because they felt secured under the protective wings of the East India Company. The treaties concluded by the East India Company with the *Princes of Rajputana were not hailed by anybody* and the Jagirdars and masses gaining nothing out of it expressed their hurt feelings by disorganized and stray activities.

People were apprehensive of Company's support to the claims of Zalim Singh to the throne of Kota and took up arms against him and the British at Mangalore which led to British casualties <sup>1</sup>

The repressive measures taken by the Agent of the Governor-General aroused the anti-British feelings of the people of Jaipur in which Col. Alves, AGG, was wounded and his assistant Captain Martin Blake was murdered in 1835 <sup>2</sup>

People assisted Rathore Bhomji of Jodhpur in his attempt on the life of Captain Ludlow in 1839 <sup>3</sup>

The people's resentment alarmed the British administrators and they were compelled to raise their armed strength in Rajputana by raising Mer Battalion, Kota Contingent, Jodhpur Legion and the Shekhawati Brigade to keep their control. An influential member of the newly created *Shekhawati Brigade, Doongar Singh, revolted against the Britishers in 1834* and was supported by his cousin, Jawahar Singh. The British captured

1 M. L. Sharma "Kota Rajya Ka Itihas," Vol II p 573

2 M. L. Sharma Proceedings of Rajasthan History Congress, Jodhpur Session, Jaipur 1968 p 11

3 G. H. Oha "Jodhpur Rajya Ka Itihas," Vol II p 86



Doongar Singh in 1838 and kept him as a prisoner in the Agra Fort from where Jawahar Singh with his few supporters got him released by force. The British army officers were shocked by this show of strength by a handful of Jagirdars as their military prestige was lowered in public eyes,<sup>1</sup> so that when Doongji and Jawaharji attacked Nasirabad Cantonment and looted the government treasury they were declared as bandits but their prestige in public was enhanced, as local poets wrote many fitting poems in their praise. People expressed their resentment when Doongar Singh alias Doongji was captured and at Ajmer the British troops capturing Doongji were hooted and pelted with stones. Throughout the route people gathered to obtain sight of Doongji and praised him for his valour. Maharaja Ratan Singh of Bikaner was praised by the people in Rajasthan who refused to hand over Jawahar Singh to the Britishers while Maharaja Takhat Singh of Jodhpur was condemned for surrendering Doongar Singh to the Britishers. So bitter was the criticism of Takhat Singh that he had to take back Doongar Singh from the British control and kept him in his personal custody.<sup>2</sup>

During the upheaval of 1857 which was initiated in British India there was a great excitement in Rajasthan as well. Disgruntled Jagirdars and the people got an opportunity to act against the British whom they hated. They extended help to the army in revolt in British Cantonments.

On 28th May, 1857, the sepoys of Nasirabad Cantonment, while returning from market were told that bone-dust had been purposely mixed in the flour in order to destroy their religion.

1 करे छै अरज फिरगप री कामणी

रूट मत छावणी भवर लड़ा ।

“Rajasthan Ka Swatantrata Sangram KaVya”, (Pritinidhi Rachnayan), Udaipur 1979 p 193

2 N R Khadgawat op cit, pp 102-103. For details—The Trial of Doongar Singh and British Attitude Towards It—by Zabar Singh in his paper in Rajasthan History Congress Proceedings, Vol VIII Pali Sess on 1974 pp 122-129

2 M L Sharma: Proceedings of Rajasthan History Congress” Jodhpur Session, Jaipur 1968, p 12. Major Spotswood and Captain Navkers were killed and many others were wounded.

and caste by the Britishers. In the infuriated sepoy's revolt British Officers severely suffered<sup>1</sup>. In their march to Delhi via Neemuch Cantonment they were entertained by the people and the Hakim of Nimbhahera<sup>2</sup> and were not only welcomed by the local population at Tonk<sup>3</sup> but also joined by a large number of them. The Kota contingent joined them and attempts of European officers to subdue them failed<sup>4</sup>. The rebels attacked the residence of Captain Hall at Mount Abu<sup>5</sup>.

The Jagirdar of Auwa and other noble chiefs of Marwar such as of Lambia, Banta Bhiwalia and Ruddawas joined in expressing their pent up feelings against the Prince of Jodhpur (Marwar) for his support for the Britishers<sup>6</sup>.

When Tantia Tope marched into Rajasthan in 1858 with his nine thousand soldiers he was helped by the people at Tonk, Indergarh and Madhopur<sup>7</sup>. From Bundi he moved to Mewar where he got much support. Being pushed out of Mewar by General Roberts, Tantia Tope reached Jhalara Patan where the ruler paid him Rs 5 lakhs and also supported him with men<sup>8</sup>.

Thus in Rajasthan the nobility, sepoy's and the people expressed their antipathy towards foreign rule. But the Princes being in treaty alliances with the East India Company were bound to help their British allies by men and material. The big States of Rajputana such as Jodhpur, Udaipur, Jaipur helped the Britishers and a chance to be free from foreign yoke was lost for the time being.

The outbreak of 1857 marks a landmark in Indian history and specially in the relation of British India to the States. The British authorities learnt two essential lessons from these fateful

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1 M. L. Sharma 'Proceedings of Rajasthan History Congress' Jodhpur Session Jaipur, 1968 p 12 Major Spotiswood and Captain Navberg were killed and many others were wounded

2 ibid

3 ibid

4 ibid

5 ibid

6 ibid

7 ibid

8 ibid

events. The first was that it was not wise to ride rough shod over the popular sentiments behind the States of India, howsoever backward they might appear from a modern British standard. And, secondly, that in view of their unsuspected strength, it was necessary to take political, military and other precautions, meant to prevent the states from uniting with each other and forming any formidable combination in future.<sup>1</sup>

Towards the first proposition of conciliation and friendship was made the historic proclamation of Queen Victoria as

"We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company are by us accepted and will be scrupulously maintained and we look for the likewise observance on their part

We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions and, while we will permit no aggression upon our Dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on others. We shall respect the rights, dignity and honour of Native Princes as our own and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good Government.<sup>2</sup>

To the other side of the dual policy was the gradual weakening of the Princes. Lord Canning in 1860 in clear terms stated that it was the right of the Government of India to set right abuses in a native Government.<sup>3</sup> For example, the Nawab of Tonk was removed from the throne in 1867 and his son set up in his place and the salute status was also reduced for the complicity in the murder of the British Agent. At another occasion Canning stated in 1862, the Crown of England stood forward, the unquestioned Ruler and Paramount Power in all India and the theory of 'one charge' following the developments of railways, the Imperial Post Offices. The Imperial Telegraph System were

1 R. C. Majumdar "British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance" Part I, 1963 Bombay p. 960

2 Queen's Proclamation, NAI New Delhi

3 The Cambridge History of India, Vol. VI p. 492

introduced in provinces which gradually spread over to the States as well "1

In a speech at Ajmer, Lord Mayo told the Princes in Rajputana in unequivocal terms, ' We estimate you not by the splendour of your offerings to us, nor by the pomp and show of your retinue here, but by your conduct to your own people at Home.

If we respect your rights and privileges, you should also respect the rights and privileges of those who are placed beneath your care. If we support you in power, we expect in return good government '2

In 1870, the authority of the Raja of Alwar was superseded and Lord Mayo enunciated the principles of his policy towards States as follows ,

"I believe if in any feudatory State in India oppressions, tyranny, corruption, wasterulness and vice are found to be the leading characteristic of its administration it is the imperative duty of the Paramount Power to interfere I am equally of the opinion that, should a well disposed chief while using his utmost endeavours to establish good government within his State, be opposed by any insubordinate petty baron, mutinous troops or seditious classes of his subjects it is then our duty to support his authority and power Further, I believe that under no circumstances can we permit in any State the existence of Civil War ' 3

This all embracing extension of paramountcy on the part of the Britishers and the assurances provided to the princes, led the latter to amuse themselves with polo, Shikar, excessive drinking, tours of Europe, fast women and slow horses

Thus, the process of decay, which was clearly marked in the first 18 years after the mutiny had been arrested in the States and the next quarter of a century witnessed a marked revival in

1 R C Majumdar ' British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance ' Bcmabay 1963 p 960

2 ibid p 964

3 ibid

the authority, prestige and efficiency of the State administration with Britishers shouldering it all <sup>1</sup>

Now, the medieval and military organizations of the States gave place to the modern conception of centralized administration of the civil government whose sphere of activity extended to the entire life of the people to the State as an organism with definite functions and obligations. The birth pangs of this system were severe in some areas where the authority of the State Government had been traditionally weak and the nobles exercised powers in their own Jagirs. Alwar and Bikaner provided examples of resistance of the nobles to the change, but elsewhere in Rajputana, where the strength of the semi-feudal baronage was rooted in history, the modern State, with its totalitarian claims, came definitely into being <sup>2</sup>

Even in the military resources of the individual States, Lord Dufferin saw the possibility of developing an Imperial Service Troops on voluntary basis where the recruitment was from the people and officered by Indians. This showed that the Central Government in India had come to the conclusion that the existence of State armies did not any longer constitute a danger to them and that a portion of troops of the States should be earmarked for the defence of entire India <sup>3</sup>. Although leading States like—Baroda Travancore Indore and Rewa, considered this at the time an outrage on their independence, and kept out of the scheme the States in Rajputana joined it and trained British personnels came into direct contact with other persons of the local populace which had its bearings in future.

Thus the Britishers tried their level best to perpetuate their hold over the states of Rajputana utilizing all possible devices of state craft, yet a consciousness among the States people emerged by the end of the 19th century and beginning of the present century against the tyrannical oppressive situations in which the States people were placed and their efforts to amelio-

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1 R C Majumdar *British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance* 1903 Part I p 967

2 *ibid* p 968

3 *ibid* p 969

rate is the history of the first half of the present century. The factors responsible for this consciousness were many and varied.

## "THE FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GROWTH OF NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN RAJASTHAN"

### Agrarian Grievances .

The basic factor for this consciousness growing among the States' people in Rajasthan is to be found in the infrastructure of medieval society. The society was pyramidal and hierarchial in form. At the top the ruler called *Maharana*, *Maharaja*, *Maharao* or *Maharawal* was held high in esteem by the people. The local Jagirdars below him though reduced in power, circumscribed in territory, compelled to yield much of their splendour and many of the dignities of birth had not abandoned an iota of the pride and high bearing arising from a knowledge of their illustrious and regal descent<sup>1</sup>. Their authority supreme in their own area resulted in many hardships for the people. The people in different States of Rajasthan were, and are still, mainly agriculturists. These simple and hard-working peasants were subjected to unbearable hardships and much of their product went to the Jagirdar in the form of *Tika*, *Lag*, *Bhent*, etc.<sup>2</sup> These taxes under different names were a curious mixture of laws coupled with tradition<sup>3</sup>. Besides, the people had to render *Begar*, service generally without payment or a very meagre payment of part of the services rendered to the Ruler and Jagirdar<sup>4</sup>. It was also out of the love and affections that people helped the ruler at the time of a wedding or by entertaining his guests. It was also

1 James Tod op cit., p 112

2 P. S. Choudhry "Rajasthan Between the Two World Wars," Agra 1968 p 203

3 R. N. Choudhry t "Adhunik Rajasthan Ka Utthan" Ajmer, 1974 p 60  
A Jagirdar went to visit his fields when his horse fell and died. People in their reverence presented the best horse of the village. Now it became a *Lag* called 'Ghurpadi' for this village and his successors resorted to force to get the best horse which was resented by the people.

4 ibid

exerted as a right by the British officials working in the states and the people in general resented their unwilling help to these alien officers.

Though the Britishers tried their best to perpetuate their hold upon the States of Rajasthan by their complete sway on the Ruler and also succeeded in settling their disputes with arrogant chiefs<sup>1</sup> and managed to receive applaus as "*Jy, Jy Frengi Ca Raj*", they proved to be quite oblivious of the popular undercurrent of resentment.<sup>2</sup>

The people in Rajasthan generally felt sore about the heavy taxes to the Jagirdar as *Lag, Bag, Tika* and *Bhent* etc., and the '*Begar*' to the official, but were resigned to their suffering lot as they found themselves tied strongly to the land and the powerful Jagirdars and officials were too strong for their rambling thoughts of discontent

Whenever the people could find a suitable opportunity they assembled and expressed their resentment. The geographical situation and the caste-association of the Dhakars of Bijolia provided such an opportunity. Bijolia an ancient and sprawling jagir of about a 100 Sq miles consisted of 83 villages, was held by a first class jagir of the Panwar clan of the Rajput ruler. The peasants mainly belonged to the *Dhakar* caste and held most of the land.<sup>3</sup> These Dhakars had come to Bijolia from the neighbouring States of Bundi, Kota and Gwalior and had their substantial connections through their relations there. Besides these Dhakars maintained their strong and independent caste institution which enabled them to coalesce as a social organization stretching far beyond the limits of the jagir.<sup>4</sup> Thus, they found themselves able to raise the cry of discontentment among the people

The opportunity of their meeting together at the '*Mritajubhoj*' on the death of Ganga Ram Dhakar's father was utilized for this purpose and their leaders *Nanjir Patel* of *Benisal Anwar*

1 James Tod op cit, p 374 Chiefs of Nubdhi and Shahpura disoieyed the earlier call for assembly of Uda pur Durbar later submi ted on show of British Army strength

2 ibid p 375

3 K D Eriksin. *Rajputana Gazetteers*, Vol II, Udaipur State Amer 1908 p 98

4 Ram Pançe "*Agrarian Movement In Rajasthan*," Delhi 1974 p 22

and Thekri Patel of Gopal Niwas were instructed to seek the advice of Sadhu Sita Ram Das, who told them to stand unitedly and oppose the oppressions. Thus, the famous Bijolia Peasants Agitation<sup>1</sup> started in 1897 and when joined by B. S. Pathik, R. N. Choudhry and Manikya Lal Verma and H. B. Upadhyaya it attained many unique distinctions. It was not only the first of the People's Movement in Rajasthan but also the first in the whole of India<sup>2</sup>. The peasant leadership provided impetus to town based state-wide political organizations for constitutional reforms and as such it presents a contrast to the Indian National Congress which after 30 years of its organization took up Peasants Satyagraha in British Territory.<sup>3</sup> Yet, another significance of this movement was that nationalist politicians were used by peasants to help them organise their discontent and negotiate settlement of long standing grievances while nationalist politicians also used the Bijolia agitation by politicizing and nationalizing it<sup>4</sup>.

### Role of the Middle Class :

The political development of Modern India since the beginning of the 19th century can be considered as the history of the struggle of this class to find a new identity<sup>5</sup>. This visionary class of lawyers, teachers, administrators and journalists<sup>6</sup> wanted diffusion of political and national consciousness among Indians. In Rajasthan the discontentment of the people was properly led by them to a fruitful goal.

The People's Movement at Bijolia (1897-1922) gathered its momentum only when B. S. Pathik, Manikya Lal Verma,

1 S. S. Saxena 'History of Bijolia Peasant's Movement,' Bikaner, 1972

2 Gandhi led Champaran Movement in April 1917.

3 Ra at K Roy 'Mewar—The Breakdown of the Princely Order' in Robin Jeffery (Ed) 'People, Princes and Paramountcy,' Oxford 1978 pp 236-237

4 Robert W. Stern 'Approach to Politics in the Princely States,' Robin Jeffery (Ed) 'People, Princes and Paramount Power,' Oxford 1978 p 369

5 S. N. Mukherjee 'South Asian Affairs' Number 2 'The Movement for National Freedom in India,' Oxford 1966 p 17

6 K. M. Pannikar 'The Survey of Indian History,' Bombay 1957 pp 217-18



R. N. Choudhry and later on Haribhau Upadhyaya joined it. They all belonged to the middle class and were not the residents of Bijolia.

In Jodhpur, it was Jai Narayan Vyas who initiated the People's Movement and was popularly known as *Master Sahib* for his teaching the youth. In Bikaner, Lawyer Raghuvar Dayal, stood against the so-called 'Bikaner Conspiracy Case' and trained his helpers in agitational methods. Master Bhola Nath of Alwar and others like, Gokul Bhai Bhatt, a teacher of Sirohi belonged to this class.

In fact, the upper class enjoying all prevailing privileges had nothing to grumble about and the lower class had no time, strength and aptitude for change. Thus it was the visionaries of the middle class who stood for change and were willing to suffer for it.

### Effects of the Arya Samaj Movement

One of the important factors responsible for making the people of Rajasthan conscious and aligning them with India as a whole, was the profound impact of Swami Dayanand's visit to Rajasthan. He visited the State of Karauli as the Royal Guest in June 1865 from where he went to Jaipur and then to Ajmer. He also visited Bharatpur, Churu and Udaipur and was well received by the Rulers and people alike in his noble task of national regeneration.<sup>1</sup> Being an enthusiastic exponent of Hindu religion and nationalism his ideas of *Swadharma*, *Swarajya*, *Swadeshi* and *Swabhava*<sup>2</sup> made remarkable progress in Rajasthan as well as in the whole of India. Encouraged by similar tours in other parts of India, he established the *Arya Samaj* on 10th April 1875 at Bombay.<sup>3</sup> In Rajasthan the branches of the Arya Samaj were established between 1880-1890. Vedic Yantralaya, a printing press, was shifted from Allahabad to Ajmer which worked well under the supervision of Shyamji Krishna Varma. A social institution called *Paropkarini*

1 Harbilas Sharda "Life of Dayanand Saraswati," p. 43

2 Satyarth Prakash "Chapter—IV passim

3 Times of India, 10th April 1875

*Sabha* was established by Dayanand Saraswati on 27th February, 1883 at Udaipur<sup>1</sup> Eminent persons, such as, His Highness of Shahpura, Shyamji Krishna Varma Mahadeo Govind Ranade, and, with His Highness Sajjan Singh, Maharana of Udaipur enjoyed so much of his confidence that he made his earthly belongings available to them after his death on 30th October, 1883<sup>2</sup>

The message of Dayanand Saraswati was well received by Princes Jagirdars and the people of Rajasthan in their common allegiance to Hinduism and the feelings of nationalism The Swami said, 'I wish to bring the Rajas and the Maharajas into the right path and want to unite the Arya race into one whole'<sup>3</sup> His teaching not only influenced the people of Rajasthan alone but virtually the whole country as Pattabhi Sitaramayya observes: 'The Arya Samaj in the North West founded by Swami Dayanand Saraswati furnished the necessary corrective to the spirit of heterodoxy and even hearsay which the Western learning brought with it... The 'Arya Samaj Movement' was aggressive on its patriotic zeal and while holding fast to the cult the infallibility of the Vedas and the superiority of the Vedic culture, was at the same time not inimical to broad social reforms'<sup>4</sup>

The Arya Samaj Movement played an important role in Rajasthan to bring the ray of hope at the time of consciousness coming to the people Under the effects of his teachings the people in Rajasthan not only realized the great importance of their religion and social heritage but the Rulers, Jagirdars educated middle class and the peasants alike becoming conscious now, realized the need of political movements as well Their feelings were like those of the rest of the Indians as described below

<sup>1</sup> D N Mukhoupadhyaya 'Life of Dayanand Saraswati,' Part—III p 422

<sup>2</sup> I Dayanand Saraswati entrust these 23 persons the sole incharge of my clothes books money Yantralaya and write this Swikar Para' to use the same for altruistic purposes — 'Swikar Patra' Pamphlet by Dayanand Saraswati

<sup>3</sup> Harbilas Sharda: op cit p 284

<sup>4</sup> Pattabhi Sitaramayya 'The History of Indian National Congress' Vol I

'In all India sense the Arya Samaj's influence was unobtrusive, particularly in the main centres of modern Indian life during the 19th century the ground work was being laid however, for the most successful unification of religious and social reforms with nationalism that was to be found in pre-Gandhian India.'<sup>1</sup>

### Effects of First World War

The people in the States of Rajasthan were stirred much by the events of the First World War. The declaration of war by the Britishers got spontaneous outburst of loyalties from the Princes in Rajputana and Maharaja Ganga Singh of Bikaner was the first to declare that he himself and his troops were ready to go at once to any place needed. He further laid emphasis that whether his troops can be used at present or not, he would earnestly ask for at least the opportunity for his personal military service to the King Emperor and the Empire, which he expressed as his highest ambition as a Rathore Chief.<sup>2</sup> His example was followed by the Princes of Kishangarh, Bharatpur, Jaipur, Dholpur, Dungarpur, Jhalawar, Karauli, Kota, Bundi and Jaisalmer<sup>3</sup> who placed all their resources and persons at the disposal of the British Government. Even Sir Pratap Singh of Idar and Jodhpur at the ripe old age of 70 years insisted on going to the battle field saying that real place for Rajput to die is battle field alone.

The participation of troops from the State of Rajasthan brought the soldiers into contact with outside world and were thrilled with the new ideas of liberty which they found prevalent in places outside their birth places. They brought the ideas of general discontent at home and influenced persons around them.

Though the rulers contributed to the War efforts with money, but none of them accepted any nominal cut in their

1 Charles C. Hemisath "Nationalism and Hindu Social Reforms," p. 130

2 In two identical telegrams sent to the King Emperor and the Viceroy he expressed the same feelings—Karni Singh—"The Relations of the House of Bikaner with the Central Powers" New Delhi, 1974, p. 194

3 'Indian Contributions in War' Vol. I and II

privy purses and collected the amount by donations and War loans. The people of Rajasthan already under the heavy burden of taxes resented these additional hardships and adopted the agitational method in States' People's Conferences as the success of this method in British India had also attained success in their efforts <sup>1</sup>

### **Influence of the Neighbouring Province**

The middle classes in the present century diffused political and national consciousness not only among the people of the provinces but equally in the people of the States also. They highlighted the defects and limitations in the administration, pressed for the rights and interests of the people by resorting to the means of submitting petitions, convening public meetings, writing articles, etc., and as a result of the same many political associations sprang up in British India, such as, Land Holders' Society in Calcutta 1837, British Indian Association, 1851, The Bombay Association, The Madras Native Association, The London India Society in England in 1865 which gave way to East India Association in London in 1866. The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, The Madras Mahajan Sabha also did the preliminary work in their provinces but The Theosophical Society in 1789 and the establishment of Indian National Congress in 1883. Ilbert Bill agitation helped in the emergence of free and unified India ruled by its natives from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and ceased to be the plunder ground of Aliens <sup>2</sup>

This feeling could not be contained in the provinces alone as the waves of changing time know no artificial barriers. The States' People in Rajasthan then having early benefits of western education followed the national path.

The British administrators also realized that the people of the States also feeling restless and admitted the same by stating,

1 Lord Ripon's compromise with British Indians inspired the formation and early success and Indian National Congress which in turn inspired the people in different States of India to organize themselves

2 Pioneer 14th March 1883 p 2

hopes and aspirations may overlap frontiers, like sparks over a tree and we need not conceal our conviction that the process of work in British India cannot leave the States untouched and must in time affect even those whose ideas and institutions are of the most conservative character in the States '1

### **Failure of Terrorist Attempts**

In the early years of the century the Congress method of meeting annually and submitting petitions was considered to be futile by a section which adopted militant nationalism. The methods adopted by them were of political murders and looting which led them to severe chase by the police. Many terrorists took shelter in the States of Rajasthan where British Indian laws were in operative. One prominent leader who actively worked in Rajasthan was Bhoop Singh, a gujar from Bulandshahr (Uttar Pradesh), who was helped by Ras Behari Bose to purchase weapons<sup>2</sup> in Rajasthan for their armed action throughout India. He was helped by Rao Gopal Singh of Kharwa. According to the secret plan of Ras Behari Bose for an armed rebellion throughout India on 21st February, 1915 they could not achieve success,<sup>3</sup> and police arrested them and kept them at Tatgarh. Their escape from Tatgarh unnerved the British administrators and commenting over it Sir C R Cleaveland Director Criminal Intelligence said, 'This is the first really serious case we have had on any one disobeying the order of a local government '4

Two other groups active in Rajputana were led by Arjun Lal Sethi of Jaipur and Kesri Singh Barhat of Kota who were working independently and enlisted support of many youths. They were considered dangerous by the British authorities as Report

1 Montford Report—Indian Constitutional Reforms, p 198

2 Hadri Martin Guns being replaced in Indian army were sold with 100 cartridges in 1909 10 in States of Rajasthan where Arms Acts were not in force

3 British spies got the news and changed sentries at Ferozpur armoury thus awaited signal for its beginning could not be received by them in Rajasthan

4 Foreign and Political Department Secret, 1st March 1917, No 1 29, National Archives of India

on Rajputana Conspiracy Case' says : " ...many enquiries have disclosed a very unsatisfactory condition of affairs in Rajputana States particularly, Jaipur, Udaipur and Kota."<sup>1</sup>

These revolutionaries of Rajputana were in close contact with Ras Behari Bose, Sachindra Sanyal, Amir Chand and Awadh Behari.<sup>2</sup> They justified looting of the British treasures and even murders of British officers to create terror in their mind and thus compel them to free India. Their activities, though inspired in the people of Rajasthan a spirit of militant nationalism but the arrests of Arjun Lal Sethi, Kesri Singh Barhat and Gopal Singh and Bhoop Singh by Britishers largely exposed the futility of such actions. People instead supported the agitational method of Congress led by Gandhi.

In its Nagpur Session, 1920, the Congress called upon the Princes to grant, at once full responsible governments in the States.<sup>3</sup> It, however, made it clear at the same time that while States' People could become members of the Congress, they could not organizationally interfere in the internal affairs of the States. Gandhi believed that as per international law the States were independent entities and the Congress, therefore, could not interfere in their internal matters. He explained that it was not due to lack of appreciation, or, sympathy towards the States' People, but it was rather sheer helplessness which dictated that policy.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, Gandhiji believed that a movement started from outside the States could hardly succeed so he wanted the people of the States to stand on their own legs.<sup>5</sup> Gandhiji's attitude proved to be a blessing in disguise and the States' People in Rajasthan abandoned the policy of outside help.

1 Report on Rajputana Conspiracy Case written by A C Armstrong—Raj State Arch. Rikaner

2 op. cit., Dated 16th June 1914

3 Indian National Congress (1920-23) Resolutions Allahabad Da e varies

4 Gandhiji followed the maxim 'one step enough for me' right from his rail journey in South Africa but a pucca realist in him also cautioned to follow one step at a time is enough for me.

5 M. K. Gandhi : 'Indian State's Problem,' a pamphlet published from Ahmedabad, 1941 p. 7

## Early Attempt at Political Awakening and Establishment of Political Conferences :

(a) "**Rajasthan Seva Sangh**"—In 1919 Pandit Arjun Lal Sethi, Thakur Kesri Singh Barhat and Shri Bijai Singh Pathik met Mahatma Gandhi after their release from jail and on his advice established '**Rajasthan Seva Sangh**' at Wardha. In 1920 it was shifted to Ajmer, it being a British province in Rajputana States more suitable for its activities. The main object of the '**Rajasthan Seva Sangh**' was to obtain redress of the grievances of the public, to support the rightful claims of the rulers and Jagirdars and to create friendly relations between people and the Jagirdars.<sup>1</sup> Soon its branches were established in Bundi, Jaipur, Jodhpur and Kota. The '**Sangh**' guided Bijolia and Begu peasants movement and exposed the police atrocities committed at Bundi Sirohi and Udaipur. Its newspaper, '**Rajasthan Kesri**' started from Wardha was the mouthpiece of its activities and also those of Rajputana-Madhya Bharat Sabha, a sister organization with common membership. As the main object of '**Rajasthan Seva Sangh**' was to acquaint the likeminded people about the people's struggle in the States, it was decided to start a weekly newspaper from Ajmer also. This was done under the title of '**Navin Rajasthan**' under the editorship of Bijai Singh Pathik and Ram Narain Chowdhury as publisher who was mainly responsible for its work. Later on, it was banned by British Government and was re-started in the name of '**Tarun Rajasthan**'. It proved to be a most popular and effective newspaper of the States people in which Arjun Lal Sethi and Kesri Singh Barhat wrote impressive articles. Jamna Lal Bajaj provided financial help<sup>2</sup> to purchase the printing machines and with the devoted services of Haribhai Kinkar and Kanhaiya Lal Kalantri it became the chief mouthpiece of States' people.

The Sangh followed the policy to retrieve oppression and injustice wherever being committed<sup>3</sup> and thus soon became most

1 Bhagwandas Kela : '**Deshi Rajyon Ki Jan Jagriti**' p. 64

2 Ram Narain Chowdhury : '**Beswi Sadi Ka Rajasthan**,' Ajmer, 1980 p. 43

3 In relation of Dholpur ruler with Jhri Jagirdar. It helped the latter '**Sangh**' adopted the policy of excluding British Government as far as possible

popular in Rajputana. The *Sangh* followed the method of sending a reliable worker to the trouble spot to gather the facts and organize people to work according to the decisions of the representative panchayat. The representative of the people conducted talks with the concerned oppressor and tried to obtain a decision. A devoted worker of the *Sangh* lived with the people and in case of negotiations not being fruitful a *Satyagraha* was being launched.<sup>1</sup> Simultaneously it propagated the grievances with its newspaper and other newspapers of the country as well. As representative of the villages used to meet weekly and discuss the main events of the week and other reformatory and creative work such as to popularise Khadi to advocate prohibition development in education removal of social evils and to remove evils of administration of Jagirdar and Ruler. It was highly acclaimed by the people.

In 1927 when Bijolia Peasants Movement was at peak unfortunately an irreparable difference of opinion arose between Bijai Singh Pathik and Ram Narain Chowdhury. On hearing of it Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi came from Kanpur to resolve it but it could not be done and so Rajasthan Seva Sangh dissolved. There is no exaggeration to say that there was no other organization like Rajasthan Seva Sangh\* in Rajasthan again.

(b) **Rajputana Madhyabharat Sabha**—While leaders of the Congress were discussing whether to intervene in the affairs of the states or not a group of enthusiast States workers who met at Delhi at the annual session of Indian National Congress in 1919 decided to establish a conference of their own. The persons keen for it were Jamna Lal Bajaj of Sikar Govind Das of Jabalpur Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi of Gwalior (who was running a paper *Pratap* from Kanpur) Shri Chand Karan Sarda of Ajmer Swami Narsinghdev of Jaipur Arjun Lal Sethi of Jaipur B. S. Pathik of Bulandshahr and Thakur Kesri Singh Barhat of Shahpura (Bhilwara) and the organization was termed as *Rajputana-Madhyabharat Sabha*. Its first session was held on

1 S. S. Saxena op. cit.

2 S. S. Saxena op. cit. p. 238.



### Origin of All India States' People's Conference

Deccan States Association invited a number of prominent workers interested in the Indian States who met on 5th March 1922 in the premises of the Servants of India Society at Poona.<sup>1</sup> N C Kelkar opened the proceeding and pleaded that progress in the Indian States was essential for the progress of the country as a whole.<sup>2</sup> He also explained that new problems were cropping up relating to the people of the Indian States and how greatly they were suffering under ante-diluvian systems of administration, the worst being entirely feudal in character and the best of them being no better than enlightened despotism.<sup>3</sup> The question of forming an All-India Council of States was taken up and it was decided to hold an All-India States' People's Conference after a few months.<sup>4</sup>

The questions which this meeting had raised however continued to be discussed for four years. These years were certainly educative in so far as they brought the problem of the people into the limelight and created a tremendous amount of consciousness among them.<sup>5</sup> But, as regards the creation of an All-India body, efforts were still far from successful and the feeling of suppressed disappointment persisted.

The next step forward in that direction could be taken only in 1926, and the meeting considered various items in connec

1 *ibid* p 3

2 *ibid*

3 *ibid* p 4

4 Report of the Indian States' People's Conference held at Bombay on 17th and December, 1927 p 5

The following four resolutions were adopted

(i) An All India States' People's Conference should be held in Bombay in August or September next

(ii) A Provisional Committee should be formed

(iii) The work of defining aims and objects of the Conference should be entrusted to the Conference itself

(iv) Messrs N C Kelkar, A V Patwardhan, B. R. Mehta, Popatlal Chudgar and J R Gharpure should be the Secretaries of the Provisional Committee

5 *ibid*

tion with organisational work.<sup>1</sup> They published a manifesto in which they declared *inter alia*, that the idea of a federated India, in which the British Provinces and the Indian States were to be united on a footing of equality, could be based only on a deeper public consciousness of political advance in the States than had been the case so far.<sup>2</sup> They expressed the view that the people of Indian States must obtain political and representative institutions and forms of government calculated reasonably to place them on a par with the rest of federating India.<sup>3</sup> The meeting decided to convene a conference of all States people in January, 1927. As this resolution could not be implemented, workers of the Indian States again met in April 1927, and held the usual discussions. By now the Simon Commission had been appointed<sup>4</sup> and this fact had given new turn to events in the States and lent urgency to the task of having an accredited organization of the States' people. The workers' conference prepared a representation to be laid before the Commission, embodying the aim of political advance in the Indian States and suggesting the ways and means by which the said aim could be

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1 *ibid*

2 *ibid*

3 *ibid*

4 While the Government of India Act 1919 provided for the review of its working after 10 years to extend, modify or restrict the then working of the Responsible Government. Indian leaders of different parties demanded to accelerate the pace of political progress without waiting for the completion of statutory period by December, 1929 but the Government of India and British Government steadily refused to concede. British politicians affected the course of political implementations in India and as the British House of Commons expiring its present tenure in 1929 and the probabilities of Labour Party returning to power which was more sympathetic to Indian demands the British Prime Minister declared to forestall the Labour Government on 8th November 1927 to constitute the Commission headed by Sir John Simon as its Chairman with his six other members of the British Parliament as Indians were found unsuitable to be unbiased and unprejudiced. The announcement about Simon Commission was received with profound disappointment and righteous indignation by all political leaders in India — R. C. Majumdar *Struggle for Freedom*, Bombay 1978 pp. 454-455

accomplished. The meeting adopted the following manifesto which it got published under the signatures of the those present

'The principal aim of such a Conference of the people of all Indian States should be to demand and secure that Indian States should be regarded as integral parts of a common Indian Nation on a par with the principal provinces of what is known as British India in all national matters, and founded on the basic principles of responsibility in government and representativeness in their governing institutions similar to that prevailing in British India under the aegis of their respective rulers.'<sup>1</sup>

The representatives of the States' people met from time to time and began to work for organising the All India States' People's Conference. It was possible to call a meeting of the Working Committee of the States' people only on November 20, 1927 under the Chairmanship of G. B. Trivedi.<sup>2</sup> 26 persons from different parts of the country constituting the Working Committee of the States' people attended the Conference. The principal subject of discussion was naturally the formation of an All India organisation and the convening of its meeting. At the invitation of this Committee Balwantray Mehta representing Bhavnagar State and Secretary of the Bhavnagar States People's Conference offered to devote all his time and energy to the organisation of the conference<sup>3</sup> which was decided to be held in the third week of December.

The intervening months were a period of a hectic activity. The sub-committee took up the allotted work in right earnest and organised a number of conferences at the State and regional level such as Orissa State, Kathiawad States, Deccan States and Travancore States People's Conference.<sup>4</sup> Balwantray Mehta's

1 All India States' People's Conference—Papers preserved at Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi.

2 *ibid.*

3 *ibid.*

4 G. R. Abhanyankar, File No. 25, Part 6 containing letters and Press cuttings etc. Serial No. 33, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi.

indefatigable efforts and well co-ordinated work provided by the much needed guidance to the people of various States. The press was flooded with pamphlets, leaflets and bulletins issued from Mehta's office. From the platform and the Press <sup>1</sup> popular attention was focussed on the grievances and aspirations of the people of the States. The country was awakened to a sense of responsibility towards 70 million of their brethren living in States <sup>2</sup> most of them leading a miserable existence. Much sympathy was roused in the provinces for the cause of the States' people.

The first meeting of "The Indian States' People's Conference" was held on 17th and 18th December, 1927 under the presidentship of Dewan Bahadur M. Ramchandra Rao, Ex-MLC and a member of Sken Committee in the grand Pandal erected in the Madho Bagh Temple, Bombay <sup>3</sup> 600 delegates from 67 States situated in Rajputana, Central India, Cutch, Kathiawar, Southern Mahratta States and Hyderabad (Deccan) attended the session <sup>4</sup> Two thousand visitors were present. Proceedings were characterized by warm enthusiasm and keen interest <sup>5</sup> No more capable chairman could have been chosen to preside over the first "All India States' People's Conference" <sup>6</sup> who was a shrewd and most far-sighted political thinker. He was styled by the government spokesmen in the Old Madras Legislative Council as

<sup>1</sup> In the editorial column 'Bombay Chronicle' dated 10.12.1927 it was written— Indian States' People's Conference to be held in Bombay on the 17th and 18th instant is an event of great constitutional importance. No scheme of Swaraj in British India can leave the Indian States entirely untouched. Hitherto the States have lagged far behind British India in respect of constitutional reforms but during the last few years the beginnings of responsible government in British India had notable reactions on the Princes and subjects of the States."

<sup>2</sup> Ibid

<sup>3</sup> Report of All India States People's Conference Bombay 1927

<sup>4</sup> Ibid

<sup>5</sup> Ibid

<sup>6</sup> Subsequently it was named as "The All India States People's Conference" by the resolution No. 6 adopted by the Executive Committee Meeting held on 19 & 20 Dec. 1923 under the Presidentship of B. S. Pathik of Rajasihan.

'*The Gokhale of Southern India*'<sup>1</sup> In his lucid and careful description he said 'the States are in all stages of development, patriarchal, feudal or more advanced while in a few States representative institutions which have been described as the dim colourless copies of those prevailing in British-India have been established'<sup>2</sup> He declared that 'a free, strong united, self-governing and self-supporting India is our aim and ideal.'<sup>3</sup> He said that guarantee should be given to preserve the individuality of the States in and federal constitution that may be devised. He expected that Ruling Princes will make sacrifices of their present powers and position for the purpose of creating a federal constitution for the whole of India as 10 years ago Maharaja of Bikaner, Sir Ganga Singh said 'There can be no mistaken view that the Indian princes will look with disfavour or apprehension upon political development in India. On the contrary, they would rejoice to see India politically progressing on constitutional lines under the British Flag'<sup>4</sup> Dewan Bahadur M. Ram Chandra Rao strongly maintained the treaties that the Princes have entered into with the Crown, are irrespective of the Sovereignty of British India and if British India is transferred by the Crown acting with the British Parliament to an Indian National Parliament the Indian States cannot claim to have any constitutional relations solely with the British Crown and independently of the Government of India<sup>5</sup> He deplored 'personal rule' of the princes as their total control over the legislature, executive and judiciary of the State. He said 'A government which owes its success to the personal character of the Ruler can never afford any guarantee for progress'<sup>6</sup> Concluding his address Dewan Bahadur M. Ram Chandra Rao earnestly hoped 'I wish we had a Bismarck or a Cavour in the Indian States'<sup>7</sup>

1 "Indian Daily Mail"—13 December 1927 (Editorial—Indian States Reform)

2 M. Ramchandra Rao "Presidential Address All India States People's Conference," Bombay

3 *ibid*

4 *ibid*

5 *ibid*

6 *ibid*

7 *ibid*

The recent tendency of the State's politicians to throw the responsibility for their constitutional advancement on the governments of India and British leaders was deplored<sup>1</sup> and it was hoped that if united the State's people may succeed as their problem is comparatively simpler than that of British India as the States were free of racial conflict. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Raja Bahadur Govind Lal Shiva Lal, asserted 'The Indian States are in a favourable position as compared to British India in one respect, namely, that the administration in a State is carried on entirely through an Indian Agency and it should not be difficult for these States to invest the people's leaders with the responsibilities of the administration. The Ruler of the State is regarded as one of themselves by the people and there is no unbridgeable gulf between them as there is in British India between the people and their foreign Rulers.'<sup>2</sup> The Conference concluded with the cautious optimism to hold States' People's Conferences annually in their own States although at the beginning they might have to face the opposition of their Rulers.<sup>3</sup> They were reminded that the political movement in British India did not have a smooth sailing in the past and it was likely that it might not be less smooth in the near future.<sup>4</sup>

### **Aims and Objects of All India States' People's Conference**

In its resolutions passed the first meeting of 'Indian States' People's Conference' resolved to meet annually and to have its head quarters presently in Bombay.<sup>5</sup> Its chief aim and object was attainment of responsible government for the people in the Indian States through representative institutions and r

1 Resolution No 9 passed as 'This Conference declares its faith in self reliant efforts as the most proper and effective means for the amelioration of the condition of the people.' Proposed by—A H Thakkar and seconded by—Mr Jamna Lal Bajaj of Rajasthan

2 All India States' People's Conference—papers Nehru Memorial Museum Library New Delhi

3 Report of All India States People's Conference Bombay 1927

4 Ibid

5 Resolutions All India States' People's Conference, Bombay

the "aegis of their Rulers"<sup>1</sup> It also resolved to have an executive committee of 75 persons to elect its office bearers and co-opt the remaining members<sup>2</sup> The Conference maintained the rights of the State's people to determine the form and character of their government Further, it was resolved to urge upon the Rulers of the States to establish representative institutions on an elective basis,<sup>3</sup> budget of the States should be prepared and voted upon and that the revenue of the States should be separated from the personal expenditure of the Princes<sup>4</sup> and that there should be an independent judiciary<sup>5</sup> Regarding the rights of the people it advocated the need for the elementary rights of citizenship and its security by suitable laws<sup>6</sup>

Rajasthan marked its presence in the very first session of the All India States' People's Conference when seven members were appointed to the Executive Committee out of its total strength of 75<sup>7</sup> and Shri B S Pathik from Ajmer was elected as Vice-Chairman and Shri R N Chaudhary from Ajmer as Provincial Secretary for Rajasthan and Central India and Punjab States

### Its Progress

The first conference of "All India States' People's Conference" was a success in uniting the workers of Indian States on a common national platform which gathered added strength during its subsequent annual conferences But, the task before it was no easier one in the face of marked general apathy of State's people for their political lot, and the rulers of

1 ibid

2 ibid

3 Ibid

4 ibid

5 ibid

6 ibid

7 At serial No 11 Pandit Naynu Ram Sharma—Rajasthan Seva Sangh Kota at serial No 12 Shankar Lal Verma—Rajasthan Seva Sangh Ajmer at serial No 14 Jaya Narain Byas—Merwari Hitkarni Sabha Jodhpur at serial No 19 Kanhaya Lal Kalantri—Phalodi Jodhpur at serial No 20, Ram Dev Poddar at serial No 21, Bal Kishan Poddar at serial No 23 Trilok Chand Mathur Karauli All India States People's Conference Papers File No 25 Part VI Serial No 71 73, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library New Delhi

individual States taking strong exception to its claim of representing State's people.<sup>1</sup> The rulers, in their own organization of Chamber of Princes," discussed and devised means to strengthen their hold upon the State's people and tried the method of forming rival-organization to it and to curb All India States' People's Conference" in States<sup>2</sup> The Indian State's Committee, headed by Sir Harcourt Butler, refused to recognise its claims to represent the State's people on the plea that legally and politically only Princes were entitled to represent the people and not this Conference.<sup>3</sup> Yet, the leaders through their persistent and sincere efforts succeeded in strengthening it gradually and soon it achieved a distinguished place in the country's political scene

States' People in larger numbers attended its annual conferences which along with its political work also worked for the development of Khadi and education in the States and removal of social evils in their localities<sup>4</sup> During its total life span of 20 years, it held eight annual sessions and two conventions and regenerated political consciousness in the States and successfully organized the States' People for agitation for representative and responsible government in States and worked for the final integration for States to the Union when independence dawned upon Indian political horizon

The second annual session of "All India States' People's Conference" was held in Bombay in 1929 with C. Y. Chintamani, Editor of Leader', as its President who stressed upon the States' People's participation in the coming federal structure of the country and vehemently criticised the Butler Committee,<sup>5</sup> the

- 1 Letter from Durga Prasad to G. R. Abhyankar Dated 14.1.1929 (Appendix-3)
- 2 Ram Narain Chaudhury who attended the First Session of Indian States' People's Conference told me personally on my meeting him at Ameer on 7th September 1979
- 3 Report of the Indian States Committee Delhi 1929
- 4 Report of Indian States' People's Conference Bombay 1932
- 5 The Butler Committee was bad in its origin bad in its time chosen for its appointment bad in its terms of reference bad in its personnel bad in its line of enquiry while its report is bad in its reasoning and bad in its conclusions.—Presidential Address—(Publisher Place Date not given)



Paramount Power of the Princes, for their obstructive attitude towards it. The most distinguished feature of this Conference was the marked distinction made by its leaders that States in India were faced with external and internal problems. The external aspect related to their organic link with British India while internal aspect was that of problems related to the form of government in each existing State<sup>1</sup>. The leaders lamented that the two bodies appointed to deal with the problem of India, i. e., Simon Commission and the Butler Committee had not touched this inner aspect of the States' problems<sup>2</sup> which was certainly unanswerable. Among the important resolutions it passed was to urge the rulers of States to establish representative institutions in the States<sup>3</sup> and to improve the functioning of the judiciary<sup>4</sup> of the State and to have budgets of the States presented<sup>5</sup> and to separate their Privy Purse from the State budget<sup>6</sup>. It also resolved to implement the resolutions of the Indian National Congress effectively by appointing a separate committee for the same<sup>7</sup>.

In its third session which was also held at Bombay from June 9 to 11 1931, its President Ramanand Chatterjee, Editor of 'Modern Review', appealed to the Princes to follow the position of the King of England and assign real powers to the representative of the people<sup>8</sup>. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Lakshmi Das Raoji Tairsee made a strong plea for unity among States' people to agitate more effectively and successfully for freedom of speech, thought and association and States' People's personal safety and their right to appeal to the federal court<sup>9</sup>. The prominent members who attended the

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1 *ibid*

2 *ibid*

3 All India States' People's Conference Resolutions Bombay

4 *ibid*

5 *ibid*

6 *ibid*

7 *ibid*

8 R Chatterjee Presidential Address to the All India States' People's Conference, Calcutta

9 All India States People's Conference Papers Nehru Memorial Museum and Library New Delhi.

conference were Subhash Chandra Bose, Smt Kamla Nehru Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, Madan Mohan Malviya, K M Munshi, Smt Munshi, Balwantray Mehta and Prof G R Abhanyakar and many other leading leaders of the Indian States<sup>1</sup> Among its important resolutions passed, it repudiated the claims of Princes to their sole representation in 'Round Table Conference' and placed its minimum demands for the establishment of a Federation in India<sup>2</sup> It declared full confidence in the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and requested him to insist on the acceptance of these minimum demands by British authorities in 'Round Table Conference' It also drew the attention of the League of Nations' towards forced labour being prevalent in Indian States and condemned ruler's negligence of the administration of the State<sup>3</sup> It appointed a committee with Balwant Ray Mehta as convener to draft a constitution for "All India States People's Conference"<sup>4</sup>

The fourth session of 'All India State' People's Conference' was also held at Bombay in 1933 and Shri N C Kelkar presided over it who deplored the apathy of Muslim States' subjects towards the struggle for freedom<sup>5</sup> Jamna Das Mehta, Chairman of the Reception Committee denounced the appointment of the Europeans as ministers by the ruling princes Of the two important resolutions it adopted, one was to enquire into the affairs of Patiala State<sup>6</sup> and a sub committee was formed to

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1 *ibid*

2 Resolutions—All India States' People's Conference Bombay 1931

3 *ibid*

4 *ibid*

5 N C Kelkar Presidential Address in the Fourth Session of the Indian States' People's Conference Bombay 1933

6 The Maharaja of Patiala threatened the Praja Mandal Workers in a interview held in August 1939 saying "My ancestors have won the State by the sword and I mean to keep it by the sword. You stop your Praja Mandal activities otherwise I shall resort to such repression that your generations to come will not forget it. I am a military man my talk is blunt and my bullet is right"—'The Indian States Problem'—M K Gandhi Ahmedabad

deal with the Patiala affairs <sup>1</sup>

The conference condemned the scheme of Federation as embodied in the White Paper on the fundamental principle of 'no taxation without representation in 'Round Table Conference' and disfavoured Princes joining the Federation as representatives of the States, specially when it was not obligatory for them to join the Federation.<sup>2</sup> Regarding affairs in the States of Rajasthan, the Conference protested against the incarceration of 8 public workers in Bikaner under the alleged Bikaner Conspiracy Case.<sup>3</sup> The Conference urged the Maharaja to release them unconditionally and to repeal the Public Safety Act.<sup>4</sup> One significant aspect of this session of the conference was its adoption of the resolution where the people of the States were considered to be the final judges of the virtues or vices of the ruling princes and their governments and demanded that no prince should be removed from his '*Gaddi*' for alleged misrule<sup>5</sup> unless there was a clearly expressed demand from his subjects or the All India States' People's Conference to that effect <sup>6</sup>

An important landmark in All India States' People's Conference was its fifth session held at Karachi in 1936 under the Presidentship of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. It was inaugurated by Jawahar Lal Nehru, then Congress President, and was attended by Rajendra Prasad the former Congress President. Nehru suggested that the Conference should follow the example of Indian National Congress and establish contact with the people and rouse mass consciousness instead of depending

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1 Prof G R Abhyankar as President Balwantray Mehta and Amrit Lal Sheh as two Joint Secretaries Mani Shanker Trivedi as General Secretary Durlabchand Umedchand as Treasurer and Chitranjan Sharan Ayt as Provisional Secretary of the All India States' People's Conference All India States' People's Conference Paper—Nehru Memorial Museum and Library New Delhi

2 *ibid*

3 S Das Bikaner" Bombay

4 *ibid*

5 All India States' People's Conference Resolution Bombay 1933

6 *ibid*

merely on sending memorials and petitions <sup>1</sup> It infused a new life in the States' people in their activities and many local organizations were formed, in almost all the States or Rajasthan in the following years <sup>2</sup>

In his inaugural address, Jawahar Lal Nehru observed that the fight Indian National Congress is carrying on against the British Rule in India includes the States' people as unity and indivisibility of India is the supreme aim He clarified that while Congress was busy fighting against the British Government in India and when it will bear fruit in near future the Princes will not be able to resist the demand of the States' people for their representative and responsible government <sup>3</sup> He further clarified that it was the British Government <sup>4</sup> and not the Indian Princes who had to be fought by all India States' People's Conference <sup>5</sup> for attaining freedom and responsible government in the States <sup>6</sup> The other significant results of this session were the formation of Civil Liberties Union and Jai Narayan Vyas (Jodhpur) speaking on the resolution said 'Those persons who live in the States or have connections with the State subjects would only know what not of atrocities and repression are perpetuated on the people there and how civil liberties are denied to them We cannot ventilate our ideas in the States to the extent of which we can do it in British India The stories of repression and wrong committed there day after day would sound incredible like fairy tales, but they are actual facts' <sup>7</sup> It was organized on federal lines and for achieving its objects of States' People's representation and responsible governments the following organizational units were formed for

1 Inaugural Address of J. L. Nehru—All India States' People's Conference Papers, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi

2 Details in subsequent chapters IV, V and VI,

3 J. L. Nehru's address

4 Ibid

5 Ibid

6 Ibid

7 All India States' People's Conference Papers—Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi

better working—(1) Punjab States including Kashmir (2) Rajputana States (3) Central India States (4) Gujrat States (5) Kathiawad States (6) Southern Maratha States (7) South Indian States (8) Hyderabad (9) Orrisa States <sup>1</sup>

With All India Federation strongly emerging on the political horizon of India and the Congress Working Committee while sympathizing with States' people having put a ban on the formations of Congress Committees in the States, the leaders of All India States' People's Conference thought it prudent to meet in a convention which was held in 1938 at Navsari.<sup>2</sup> Leaders like, Indra Vidyavachaspati of Delhi, Prem Nath Bajaj of Kashmir, Haribhau Masurkar of Indore, Balwantray Mehta Jai Narain Vyas and P. L. Chudgar expressed their strong resentment against Congress Working Committee Resolutions and President Dr. Pattabhi Sitarammaya drafted a resolution "This Congress stands for the same political social and economic freedom in the States as the rest of India and considers the States as an integral part of India which cannot be separated 'Purna Swaraj' or complete Independence which is the objective of the Congress is for the whole of India inclusive of States, for the integrity and unity of India must be maintained in freedom as it has been maintained in subjection. The only kind of federation that can be acceptable to the Congress is one in which the States participate as free units, enjoying the measure of democratic freedom as the rest of India." Which was adopted by the Indian National Congress in its 1938 Haripura Session with added support from its President Subhash Chandra Bose.<sup>3</sup> A resolution to start publication of an English weekly named as 'The State's People' was adopted.<sup>4</sup> Subsequently it became a rallying point for agitation in all the States

1 All India States' People's Conference Papers—Nehru Memorial Museum and Library New Delhi

2 G. R. Abhyankar Papers, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi

3 "Let us not forget that they (States People) need our sympathy our help"—Crossroads—Subhash Chandra Bose, 1938-49

4 Resolution—All India States' People's Conference Nehru Memorial Museum and Library New Delhi

The Navsari Convention recorded its strong protest against the proposed transfer by the Government of India of more than 100 villages of the Ajmer-Merwara Province to the Jodhpur and Udaipur States against the will of the people of the areas concerned <sup>1</sup>

The sixth regular session of the All India States' People's Conference was held in March 1939 at Ludhiana which proved to be the most crucial from political point of view. Jawaharlal Nehru was elected its president. The Congress had already abandoned its policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of the States and in its Haripura Session in February 1938 adopted the resolution framed by Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya at Navasari Convention of All India States' People's Conference as 'The Congress, therefore, stands for full responsible government and guarantee of civil liberty in the States and deplors the present backward conditions and utter lack of freedom and suppression of civil liberties in many of these States. The Congress desires to assure the people of the States of its solidarity with them and of its active and vigilant interest and sympathy with their movement of freedom. It trusts that the day of their deliverance is not a distant'. The Congress had also withdrawn the ban put on Congress Committees being set up in the States, and thus the Congress extended whole-hearted support to the States' people and their movements. J. L. Nehru in his Presidential speech said, "The States' People's Conference has done good work in the past but this has been only a fraction of the work it might have done. It must now turn to efficient organization of all its activities so that it might become a clearing house for all that pertains to the States and a source of help and inspiration to all our comrades in the struggle". It must help building up Praja Mandal or people's organizations in the States. It must take care to steer clear of all communalism and it must above all remember, and make others remember that

<sup>1</sup> Report of All India States' People's Conference, 1939 Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi

<sup>2</sup> J. N. Nehru 'All India States' People's Conference—Presidential Address,' Bombay

non violence is the basis of this struggle. It is our good fortune that in this struggle we have the backing of the National Congress and the support of its leaders. Most cheering of all is the thought that we have Gandhiji to guide and inspire us.<sup>1</sup>

The most significant resolution adopted by this session of All India States' People's Conference was the concept of viability of the Indian States. It is said that the States with a population of 20 lakhs and a revenue of Rs 50 lakhs alone could be considered as viable administrative units.<sup>2</sup> The other smaller State or group of States were to be merged with either larger States or Provinces on their borders.<sup>3</sup> This concept of viable States attracted the attention of Political Department and the Viceroy also.

As a consequence of India's forced participation in Second World War the Congress Ministries in Provinces resigned after putting the Act of 1935 in operation partially. The All India States' People's Conference carried on its struggle in States and held its second convention in July 1940 at Poona after the Standing Committee's Meeting a day earlier which Jamna Lal Bajaj, Jai Narain Vyas and Kanhayalal Vaidya from Rajasthan attended. The President of All India States' People's Conference J. L. Nehru surveyed the situation in his address<sup>4</sup> and among important resolutions one was to form a committee to bring out a weekly newspaper the decision on which had already been taken in the last session but it could not be successfully implemented. The Committee consisted of Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Balwantray Mehta and Brijlal Blyani was made in charge of it.<sup>5</sup>

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1. *ibid*

2. All India States' People's Conference—Resolutions 1939 Bombay 1939

3. *ibid*

4. J. L. Nehru, Presidential Address—All India States' People's Conference 1940

5. Resolutions—All India States' People's Conference—Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi

The seventh session of All India States' People's Conference was held from 31st December, 1945 to 2nd January 1946 at Udaipur. It was marked with great enthusiasm after the nation-wide 'Quit India' Movement infusing a new spirit and hope in people's mind. J. L. Nehru, who later joined as Vice-President of the Interim Government in September, 1946, presided over it.<sup>1</sup> Among the important resolutions passed were, while accepting the norms of population and revenue as laid down by Ludhiana session, it made it clear that the States which did not fulfil these standards must be wound up as administrative units.<sup>2</sup> This definition in the resolution was a marked improvement on the previous one. The All India States' People's Conference also pleaded that "suitable provisions should be made for the present rulers and their personal dignity and position safeguarded" in the event of the merger of their States.<sup>3</sup> The All India States' People's Conference reiterated its demand to have people's representatives in the Constituent Assembly.<sup>4</sup>

The last session of All India States' People's Conference was held in April 1947 at Gwalior which was symbolic of States' People's rising hopes and symptomatic of the new order of things to come. It further raised the criteria of viability of the States and now it was agreed upon that only those States could continue as separate administrative units which had a population of 50 lakhs or more, and an annual revenue of at least 8 crores.<sup>5</sup> It rejected unequivocally the proposed grouping of the States as sponsored by the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar and some rulers of the Deccan States. Mahatma Gandhi clearly told the Princes that they were keen to accomplish which did not belong to them when the British as Paramount power withdraws from India.<sup>6</sup> Thus the attempt of the Princes to assume the political leadership of their people failed.

1 J. L. Nehru 'Presidential Address' All India States' People's Conference 1946

2 Resolution—All India States' People's Conference—Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi

3 *ibid*

4 *ibid*

5 *ibid*

6 Harijan, April 1947



## All India States People's Conference and Federation

The All India States People's Conference was from its beginning in favour of a Federal System of Government at the centre and until June 1947 its leaders worked for realizing the same with their central body and local affiliated units. This idea of India as one administrative unit was in their aims and objects when they founded the organization in 1927 and incorporated the same in their constitution in 1939 readings as—  
'The object of the All India States People's Conference is the attainment by peaceful and legitimate means of full responsible government by the people of the States as an integral part of a free and federal India' <sup>1</sup>

The leaders laid all emphasis from its very inception upon States People's right to represent themselves in the administration for which they tried to present the case of States People before Butler Committee appointed in 1927 to examine relation of Paramount Power with Indian States. The Committee's refusal to recognise the claims of States People left them with no other alternative but to send their memorandum to it<sup>2</sup> which bore no result in their first attempt. However as a challenge thrown by the appointment of all white Simon Commission the Nehru Committee met and recognised the aspirations of the States people which laid down in clear terms that the All Parties Conference in its Dominion Constitution of India it visualised representative form of government in the States in the event of a federal constitution being accepted by them<sup>3</sup>. But this recognition by leaders in India was not accepted by Round Table Conferences to be followed in London as a result of The Indian Statutory Commission. The All India States People's Conference was not recognized to represent States in the Round Table Conference and only acknowledged representatives of States were Rulers alone. However their delegates from British

2 Constitution of the All India States People's Conference June 1936 Bombay p 1

3 Memorandum of the Indian States People to the Butler Committee Bombay 1928

4 Article—III Constitution of AISP 1939

India, such as, Mr. Ramchandra Rao in Second Round Table Conference and N. C Kelkar in Third Round Table Conference championed the cause of States' people as delegates from British India and All India States' People's Conference submitted a memorandum to the Congress in March 1931 hoping that States' people's viewpoint would be placed before Second Round Table Conference and its idea of a federal constitution be accepted there <sup>1</sup>

This memorandum, prepared by prof G. R Abhayankar, Amritlal V. Thakkar, Rangildas kapadia and kakabhai, Kothari, accepted the federation as the most suitable type of constitution for India <sup>2</sup> It further maintained that the States should be admitted into the federation only on the condition that they maintain a standard of government which would be on a par with that prevailing in British India,<sup>3</sup> that States be represented in the center through elected representatives <sup>4</sup> that the judiciary in the States be linked up with the federal Supreme-Court and that the declaration of fundamental rights as embodied in the federal constitution be guaranteed to the States' people as well <sup>5</sup> The memorandum further urged that the States' people must be enabled to send their representatives to participate in the future conferences convened for shaping the Indian Constitution.<sup>6</sup>

In the Government of India Act 1935, emerging out of the deliberations of Round Table Conference in London, the Federal form of Government was accepted but with all rights to Rulers only and its non-implementation, subsequently The idea of a federal government there getting official recognition, the chamber of princes tried to strengthen the position of the Rulers by sending the memorandum through their British Resident individually, to the Political Department of Government of India It

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1 Memorandum of the Indian States People's Conference presented to the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress Bombay—All India States People's Conference 1931 pp 20 22

2 *ibid*

3 *ibid*

4 *ibid*

5 *ibid*

6 *ibid*

gratification, on behalf of the States people that they were also given recognition as well as the right to co-operate and participate in the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly. Representatives of the States of Baroda, Bikaner, Cochin, Jaipur and Jodhpur Patiala and Rewa joined the Constituent Assembly by April 1947<sup>1</sup>.

Then came the famous June 3 1947 declaration by Lord Mountbatten on behalf of the British Government, who announced that long before June 1948 India would be partitioned and two dominions of India and Pakistan would be established and that regarding the states 'British Paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new Government'<sup>2</sup>. This certainly stirred the whole of India and States' people more as the partition plan and lapse of British Paramountcy immensely increased the chances of chaos. While the rulers of States were divided and some favoured their independence even after the transfer of power<sup>3</sup> without bothering about geographical and economic compulsions and others hoping to form a third State—a State of their own<sup>4</sup> a great majority became increasingly conscious of the need of accession to Indian Union. The States' people impressed upon the rulers, jagirdars and thakurs that under the pressure of the will of the people their lot is attached with Indian Union only. The All India States' People's Conference swallowed the bitter pill of partition as Congress did and also felt the dire need of a strong centre at Delhi the immediate accession of the States to the Indian Union<sup>5</sup> and its re-organization into viable units. It worked for the same in the hectic period

1 V. B. Kulkarni—'British Statesman in India' Bombay 1961, p. 489

2 Mountbatten—'Time Only to Look Forward—Speeches', 1947-48 London 1949 pp. 13-18

3 Hyderabad, Jammu and Kashmir and Junagarh were the only States who did not sign the Instrument of Accession by 15 August 1947—(ibid., p. 490)

4 The Jam Sahib of Nawanagar sponsored the scheme which could not realize at all—Urmila Phadnis—'Towards Integration of Indian States' New Delhi 1968 p. 179

5 The Nawab of Bhopal wanted Baroda, Udaipur, Jodhpur and Jaisalmer to join Pakistan which was led by the leaders of the States' people—K. M. Munshi—'Pilgrimage to Freedom' Bombay 1967 p. 162

and then consented to merge its identity with the Congress and the Congress recognised 'Prajā Mandals associated with All India States' People's Conference as its branches in the region. This integration of the popular movements in States, and particularly in Rajasthan, enabled to promote accession of the States of the Indian Union.

Thus, the British design to balkanise the Indian States at their departure from India and also taking their chance to stage a possible come back was only foiled by the people of the States successfully.

### AN ESTIMATE :

The All India States' People's Conference attempted to voice the people's aspirations, and through its various activities it strove to influence political and constitutional development in the country. The task which it took up was a difficult one more so, in the face of apathy of the people living in the States. The leaders were alive to it as the First President of All India States' People's Conference accepted the same.

'I am doubtful whether States (a few excepted) are yet properly prepared for representative institutions on democratic lines. I mean the mass of the people. We have, therefore, to be very cautious in laying down general propositions'<sup>1</sup> So also the condition of the States was disappointing as its General Secretary, Prof. G. R. Abhyankar expressed.

'The Indian States are in a desperate condition as regards recognition of political rights in an altogether backward condition, viz., that of an absolute Monarchy, where on one possesses even the most elementary rights of citizenship, no security of property, no independent judiciary, no liberty of press or assembly, no form of representative government, and the revenues of the State are seized by their rulers'<sup>2</sup> Yet it successfully organized public opinion<sup>3</sup> in the States by its local

1 Letter addressed to A. V. Thakkar and P. L. Chudgar—Dated 13 December 1927.

2 Interview to French Paper *La Jeune—Republique* Paris, 19th January 1929.

3 Its paper—*States' People*—was the mouthpiece of its activities.

units<sup>1</sup> in British Provinces with its literature and sending deputations to Britain and the continent<sup>2</sup> and attracted the attention of all

The hostile and uncharitable attitude of the Princes<sup>3</sup> was the biggest hindrance in their work. It is note-worthy to mark that the All-India States People's Conference could not hold a single session in any Indian State right upto the year 1946. In many States it became impossible to open the branches of All India States' People's Conference and they had to work in such States from places like Calcutta and Bombay. Besides the British Government's attitude towards the States' People's organization was one calculated to discourage its growth. It consistently refused to recognize the States' people in Simon Commission, Butler Committee, Round Table Conferences, Government of India Act 1935, Cripps Proposals and Cabinet Mission Plan and relied on Indian Princes alone as spokesman of States. Even in June 3, 1947 declaration, the lot of States' people was still made worse with the declaration of partitioning India and lifting the British Paramountcy over the States. The All India States' People met all the odds courageously in which Congress later gave its helping hand at the conference table.

Even the attitude of the Indian National Congress was not of encouragement and help in the beginning. But, the widespread awakening stirred by the All India States' People in the masses in the States changed the thinking in the Congress and

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- 1 Its units were established in almost all States and in Rajasthan except centrally administered area of Ajmer Marwara. It worked in rest of the States from 1931 to 1947 when these organizations were merged in State Congress Committee.
  - 2 A deputation of Ramchandra Rao G. R. Abhyankar A. D. Sheth and P. L. Chudgar went to London and visited Continent in 1929 and made leaders alive to millions of State Subjects.—G. R. Abhyankar 'Work in England of the Deputation of Indian States' People's Conference' Bombay 1928.
  - 3 Leaders exposed Maharaja Ganga Singh of Bikaner when he was making loud claims in Round Table Conference in London. The Maharaja related by charging the people's leaders with Bikaner Conspiracy Case.—Details in Chapter IV.

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some of its leaders impelled by certain other causes also, started pleading the States' people's cause

Besides the All India States' people had numerous problems arising out of personal ambitions in their own rank and file. Soon after its first session it was threatened to be divided when Satyamurthi in 1931 wanted the complete liquidation of the princely order as its aim and object. However, the split was saved with his agreeing to have its aim presently to bring the States politically and constitutionally at par with British provinces and the role of hereditary monarchs to be sorted out later on<sup>1</sup>

However inspite of these obstacles it is creditable that the All India States' people could place on record its memorable services in removing numerous local grievances. All India States' People's Conference literature depicts the work and popularity of the leaders. It consists of pamphlets -- 'A Cry from Patiala' "Fear, Prejudices and Profession" "Navanagar of prince Rajee" and books 'Indian princes under British Protection' by P. L. Chudgar, "problems of Indian States," by G. R. Abhayankar<sup>2</sup> and securing people's representation in the representative governments of some States<sup>3</sup>. Last, but not the least. It could not only fight for the States' "due" in the 'federal scheme' but could also merge its identity with the Congress when the question of an integrated and centralized unit for India came up after independence<sup>4</sup>. They set a rare example of sacrifice for the nation and the sacrifice resulted in a strong unified India. The Congress, the League and the British divided India. The All India States' People's Conference gave to the truncated India a real unity.

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1. All India States' Peoples' People's Conference Papers 1927-33, File No 25/6 p 737
  2. All India States' People's Conference Papers Nehru Memorial Museum and Library New Delhi
  3. In Rajasthan Bikaner Jodhpur and Jaipur States established popular ministries in 1948. Laxman Singh— 'Political and Constitutional Development in the Princely States of Rajasthan' New Delhi 1970 p 115
  4. V. D. Mahur 'Genesis of All India States' People's Conference' a paper submitted in 41st session of Indian History Congress held at Bombay from 26-29 December 1980

## CONGRESS ATTITUDE TOWARDS STATES' PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE

The policy adopted by the leaders of the Indian National Congress towards Indian States and their people has passed through various stages. The Congress attitude towards States' People's aspirations was sympathetic and helpful yet guided by calculated caution which the leaders could follow with the Congress gradually gaining strength and importance in the political scene of India. This attitude of the Congress towards the States and their people could be seen in three different phases. The first phase which goes upto 1919 A D is clearly marked with Congress's indifferent attitude towards the States' people. The second phase from 1920 A D to 1937 A D showed the limited interest of the Congress in the affairs of the States and this was followed by the third and final phase between 1938 A D to 1947 A D when an attitude of total identification with the rising aspirations of the States people emerged. This resulted in the two organizations working with close co-operation Congress in British Provinces and All India States People's Conference active in the Indian States respectively. Their combined forces not only compelled the British to free India but also resulted in the establishment of a United India with a strong central government. The Congress leaders including Mahatma Gandhi and J L Nehru took keen interest both in the deliberations of the All India States People's Conference and in the political affairs of the Indian States.

Whenever an act of high handedness and atrocities was brought to their notice they always intervened in the matter. This gave an extra ordinary encouragement to the All India States' People's Conference to expand their work and their local units in some States became a powerful force to reckon with. The leaders of the All India States' People's Conference in turn extended full support and co-operation to the Indian National Congress in the implementation of the policies laid down by it.

### First Phase

The Indian National Congress founded in 1885 with its modest aims such as (i) The fusion into one national whole of all the different and till recently discordant elements that constitute the population of India, (ii) The gradual regeneration along all lines mental moral social and political of the Nation thus evolved and (iii) The consolidation of the Union between England and India by securing the modification of such of its conditions as may be unjust or injurious to the latter country<sup>1</sup> planned action for the entire Indian sub continent but in actual practice its leaders concentrated upon activities in British provinces alone upto 1920. They remained indifferent towards States people of 60 million inhabitants consisting of one-fourth of the total Indian population<sup>2</sup> in its formative period. Many persons from States started attending the Congress Sessions and forming Congress Committees in their States and drew the attention of the leaders of All India Organization towards the States. As a result the Congress adopted a few formal resolutions regarding the State as well. In its first resolution concerning the States it condoled the death of Maharaja of Mysore in 1894. This Congress wishes to express its respectful condolence and sympathy with the Royal Family of Mysore in their recent and sudden bereavement and at the same time its deep sense of the loss which has been sustained in the death of Maharaja of Mysore not only by the State over which he ruled with such wisdom ability and bene-

1 —B. N. Pandey The Indian Nationalist Movement —(1885-1947) Macmillan 1979 p. 6

2 —White Paper —Government of India Delhi 1948 p. 21



fence but also by all Indian people, to whom his constitutional reign was at once a vindication of their political capacity and example for their emulation, and an earnest of their future political liberties '1 Again in its second resolution concerning the States it condemned the indiscriminate deposition of Indian Rulers by the British in 1896 ' In the opinion of the Congress it is desirable that in future no Indian Prince or Chief shall be deposed on the ground of mal-administration till his conduct shall have been established to the satisfaction of a public tribunal which shall command the confidence alike of Government and of the Indian Princes and Chiefs '2 and continued the same policy of concentrating its activities mainly in British India upto 1919

### Second Phase

This Congress policy of Olympian indifference towards States' people continued upto 1919 but a marked difference in its attitude was discernible from 1920 when the Indian National Congress showed limited interest in the affairs of the States and people's aspirations there This change in its policy was due to the participation of the States' people in the First World War which resulted into the dawn of political consciousness among the States and a few of them formed their independent organizations<sup>3</sup> Further when the Congress decided to launch non-co-operation movement against the British Government under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership it demanded action of bigger dimensions and needed the support of the people living in States, so that the Congress enlarged the orbit of its activities for which the representatives from States were also clamouring Its crucial session at Nagpur in 1920 not only endorsed the Gandhian Plan of non-co operation with the British Government but it also aligned itself with the hopes and aspirations of the people living in different States and adopted the resolution to this effect reading as under

1 — The Congress Policy Towards States ' Bombay 1938 p 1

2 — The Congress Policy Towards States ' Bombay 1938, p 1

3 In Rajasthan two important organizations were formed namely— 'Rajasthan Sewa Sangh' and 'Rajputana Madhya Bharat Sabha' in 1919

'The Congress appeals to all Indian Princes that they should at once grant the representative form of government to their subjects' <sup>1</sup>

But, it still refrained from actively interfering with the political affairs of the States as Gandhiji was of the strong opinion that the time for Congress intervention in the affairs of the States was not ripe enough by then. He wanted the States' people to stand on their legs <sup>2</sup> rather than any other organization or movement being thrust upon which could not bring the desired results and Gandhi's views were largely held.

The States' people could hardly appreciate this apathy towards their suffering political lot under the autocratic Rulers of the States. In the prevailing current of rising political aspirations they naturally looked towards the Congress as an All India body for guidance but in spite of their best efforts when the States' people could not succeed in moulding the Congress attitude towards the hopes and aspirations of the States' people they had no option but to form a separate forum of their own where they could not only plead their cause but also force their rulers of the respective States to grant responsible government and institute reforms to ameliorate the socio-economic position of the States' people <sup>3</sup>. The need for such a national forum was further accelerated when the rulers organized themselves through the Chamber of Princes in 1921, and the British Government ignored them completely in the appointment of Simon Commission in 1927 and then in the formation of Butler Committee. Thus, the All-India States' people's Conference was formed in December 1927 at Bombay. Many important leaders from Rajasthan attended the first Session of All India States' People's Conference where *Bijai Singh Parluk* was elected as Vice President and *Ram Narain Choudhury* as Secretary for States from Rajputana and Punjab. *Jai Narain Vyas*, *Naynu Ram Sharma* and *Trilok Chand Mathur* also attended it and formed its branches in their respective States of Jodhpur, Kota and Karauli.

1 Congress Resolutions' — Bombay 2<sup>nd</sup> October 1924 p. 1

2 Ra.endra Prasad 'Autobiography' p. 412

3 All India States' People's Conference, Resolutions

It was during the All-Parties Conference in 1928 that the mutually agreed constitution for India was adopted. This was the first occasion when the leaders who drafted it under the Chairmanship of Moti Lal Nehru, for first time recognised India as one, consisting of British provinces and Indian States alike. *Report of the All-Parties Conference Committee on Indian States* (Nehru Report), 10 August, 1928. 'the Commonwealth shall exercise the same rights in relation to, and discharge the same obligations towards, the Indian States as the Government of India exercised and discharged previous to the passing of this Act.'<sup>1</sup> This close relationship between the two separate administrative units interwove the people's aspirations. Its gradual growth in the course of time subsequently made the British realize that they could not keep their hold perpetually in India. In the light of the view expressed in the Nehru Report, the All India Congress also passed a resolution in its Calcutta Session of 1928 which was considered to be the 'magna carta' by the States people all over India. This was the resolution passed

'The Congress urges on the Princes of Indian States to introduce Responsible Government' based on Representative Institutions in the States and to immediately issue proclamations or enact laws governing the elementary and fundamental rights of citizenship such as—Rights of Association, Free Speech and Security of Life and property. The Congress, further, assures the people of the Indian States of its sympathy with and support to their legitimate struggle for the attainment of Full Responsible Government in the States.'<sup>2</sup>

The Round Table Conferences meeting in London tried to find out a political solution for India by stressing the need to evolve a commonly agreed upon Constitution for the country. Mahatma Gandhi, now recognized as undisputed leader of the country, attended the Second Round Table Conference as the sole representative from the Congress and stressed upon the need of unified India consisting of its provinces and States.

1 'Indian Annual Register (1928)' Vol. I., p. 40

2 "The Congress Policy Towards States," published by All India States' People's Conference February 1933 p. 3

both But Gandhiji relied on his earlier proclaimed theory of trusteeship. He expounded his theory of Prince's Trusteeship in 1916 and while opening the Banaras Hindu University Gandhiji said, 'princes should strip themselves of their jewellery and held that in trust for the people of their States' and piously hoped that the Princes would work so. He upheld the Congress policy of non-interference in the affairs of the States as wise and sound under its legal implications. He explained, "The States are independent entities under the British Law. That part of India itself which is described as British has no more power to shape the policy of the States than it has (say) that of Afganistan or Ceylon"<sup>1</sup>. Following Gandhi's views Bhulabhai Desai, a front rank Congress leader and President of the Congress Parliamentary Party at the Centre, while presiding over the Bar Association of Mysore State on 10th June, 1935, stressed upon the princes alone to have the sole right to determine the nature of relationship between the States and the Federal Government in India. As per Gandhi's views the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress in its resolution passed on 1st August 1935 stated that while the Congress recognised that the people in the Indian States had an inherent right to Swaraj, it put the burden of carrying on that struggle within the States entirely on the States peoples themselves<sup>2</sup>. This suggested ban on the Congress Committee working within the States infuriated the States' people who later met in Navasari Convention of 1938 under the Presidentship of Dr. Pattabhi Sitarammaya who drafted the resolution which was later on adopted by the Congress in Haripura in 1938.

### Third Phase

Some leaders in the Congress disagreed with Gandhi's view and a section called the Socialists, including Jawahar Lal Nehru, Jaya Prakash Narayan, Acharya Narendra Dev, Yusuf Mehrali and their supporters missed no opportunity to uphold the cause of the States' people and demanded the Congress intervention.

2. See Appendix (Kelkar's letter to Gandhiji and his reply)

3. All India Congress Committee Papers, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi.

in the State's struggle<sup>1</sup> Yet another section of the Congress leaders called the Radicals led by Subhash Chandra Bose who wanted to wrest the Congress leadership from Gandhiji, enthusiastically upheld the view of the Congress working closely with them Gandhiji argued with them and vehemently supported the Congress policy of non-intervention upto 1937 He vehemently reprimanded the Congress Working Committee for passing a resolution protesting against the measures adopted by the Mysore Government and appealing to the people of British India and the Indian States to give all support to popular movement in Mysore<sup>2</sup> and successfully upheld that in view of the numerous limitations and restrictions imposed by the Rulers or by British authority working through them it was impossible to work effectively within the States Further, it was considered to be in consonance with the dignity of the Congress to have local committees which could not function effectively due to these said limitations Secondly, the inability of the Congress to give protection or effective help when hopes had been raised, produced helplessness in the people of the States and hinder the development of their movement for freedom<sup>3</sup> Thirdly because of the different conditions prevailing in the States and the rest of India the general policy of the Congress was often unsuited to the States and might result in preventing and hampering the natural growth of a freedom movement in a State<sup>4</sup> As such the burden of carrying on the struggle for freedom should fall on the people of the States themselves<sup>5</sup> The Congress was only prepared to give its moral support and sympathy to such struggle but could not go beyond that However, individual congressmen were allowed to participate in such movements<sup>6</sup>

Ideological differences were sharpened by personal ambitions of leaders within the Congress with Gandhi, Bose and Nehru-

1 Pattabhi Sitaramayya History of the Congress ' Vol II p 79

2 Indian National Congress Resolutions Allahabad Law Journal Press (1936-38)

3 ibid

4 Ibid

5 ibid

leading each group. Heated discussions followed in this meeting at Haripura Session of Indian National Congress in 1938. The leaders were in high spirits after winning the majority in many provinces following 1936-37 elections and realizing the way the wind was blowing. Gandhi also modified his attitude and also the Congress policy towards the States leading to the Congress resolution about States in Haripura Session of 1938: "Internal struggle of people of the States must not be undertaken in the name of the Congress. For this purpose independent organization should be started and continued where they exist already within the States. The Congress desires to assure the people of the States of its solidarity with them and of its active and vigilant interests in and sympathy with their movement of freedom. It trusts that the day of their deliverance is not far distant."<sup>1</sup>

Mahatma Gandhi further maintained: "The policy of non-intervention by the Congress was, in my opinion, a perfect piece of statesmanship when the people of the States were not awakened. That policy would be cowardice when there is all-round awakening among the people of the States and a determination to go through a long course of suffering for the vindication of their just rights. If once this is recognised the struggle for liberty, wherever it takes place, is the struggle for all India. Whenever the Congress thinks it can usefully intervene it must intervene."<sup>2</sup> This Haripura resolution of the Congress asking for the establishment of independent organizations of their own in the States inspired the people in Rajasthan to have their own State Praja Mandal.<sup>3</sup> In the subsequent years they formed one such organization in each State and those already working in the teeth of opposition from their rulers, strengthened their activities and were aligned to the All India States' People's Conference. Their formal constitutional organization and regular annual conferences were not possible due to continuous State police chase.

1. Harijan"—Dated 26th February 1938

2. Gandhi's interview to 'The Times of India' (Bombay) 25th January 1938

3. Details in subsequent Chapters IV, V and VI

The last hitch regarding the Congress intervention in the internal affairs of the States' People's Struggle was removed in the next annual session of the Indian National Congress held at Tripuri from March 10 to 12, 1939. The re-elected Congress President, S. C. Bose, had views in sharp contrast to Gandhi and in his presidential address he praised the "unprecedented awakening" of the people in the States and held, "that we should revise our attitude towards the States as defined by the Haripura Congress Resolution." He stressed upon the further need of the Congress drawing closer to the people of the States.<sup>1</sup>

Smt Kamla Devi Chattopadhyaya added in her discussion the resolution regarding the States' people that for eliciting correct information as to what was going on in the States, a better co-ordination between the Congress and All India States' People's Conference was necessary,<sup>2</sup> and in the resolution passed thereon the Congress made a re-appraisal of its earlier policy and said, 'This policy of non-intervention was dictated by circumstances, but it was never conceived as an obligation<sup>3</sup> and it was held that the great awakening that is taking place among the people of the States may lead to a relaxation or to a complete removal of the restraint which the Congress imposed upon itself, thus resulting in an ever-increasing identification of the Congress with the States' people.'<sup>4</sup> It was decided that the Congress Committee would meet the Standing Committee of the All India States' People's Conference to devise ways and means for bringing about closer co-operation among the people of the Indian States and British India

The All India States' People's Conference, on its part, working incessantly for its identification with the Indian National

1 Report of the 52nd Indian National Congress Tripuri (District Jubbulpore) Mahakoshal 1 39 —"Jubbulpore, All India Congress Committee, no date p 656

2 *ibid*

3 *Indian National Congress Resolution March 1939 to January 1940* pp 51 57

4 *ibid*

Congress, had already resolved in its Ludhiana Session that the People's struggle in the States should be in close co operation and also under the guidance of the Congress or any sub-committee that the Congress might form for this Purpose<sup>1</sup> Thus, ideologically and directionally the All India States's People's Conference was linked with the Indian National Congress and maintained its separate identity for the next 8 years. The States' people were fully satisfied with the stand taken by the Congress and its top leaders with regard to their future set up. At no stage during the protracted negotiations with the British Government, the Government of India, the Rulers representative or the Muslim League did the congress ever lose sight of the interests of the States' people and their desire to be equal participants in the freedom movement of the country and the political set up that followed.

Now, the Congress being at their back, after the Tripuri Session, the States' people were further infused with enthusiasm and vigour for their demand of civil liberties and establishment of responsible government. The States and Praja Mandals or Praja Parishads were formed and invigorated by the people in different States of Rajasthan.

Regarding the Civil Liberties Gandhiji placed the following minimum demands that all States should guarantee in order to come up in line with enlightened opinion in what was called the British India -

- (i) Full civil liberty-including freedom of press
- (ii) Freedom to form association
- (iii) Freedom for Indians outside any particular State to enter the State
- (iv) Privy purse of Princes to be limited
- (v) Judiciary to be independent and permanent and free of all interference<sup>2</sup>

He also asked the Princes not to underrate the Congress as a force in the country, "as he visualized that it is an organization which bids fair in the future, not very distant, to replace

<sup>1</sup> "The States People, Vol 1, No 6 March 1939 p 17

<sup>2</sup> H. K. Gandhi: "The India States Problem," Navsaran Ahmedabad pp 342 343



the Paramount Power which he hoped to be by friendly arrangement."<sup>1</sup> So he advised the Princes to cultivate friendly relation with the Congress

Regarding the establishment of responsible government in the States, the People's Conference deleted from the constitution its aim to establish representative government under the aegis of their Rulers, and in its constitution adopted in 1939 inserted \*

"The object of the All India States' People's Conference is the attainment by peaceful means and legitimate means of full responsible government by the people of the States as integral part of a free and federal India"<sup>2</sup>

Its local units followed suit and the Praja Mandal of Jaipur was the first in Rajasthan to delete the same clause of working under the aegis of the Ruler from its constitution in 1940, and worked for the establishment of full representative and responsible government. Other units also followed this constitutional change.<sup>3</sup>

The Congress support further emboldened the All-India States' People's Conference to demand the viability of a State as an administrative unit in the future federal form of government for the country. In its resolution passed in the Ludhiana Session in 1939 All India States' People's Conference laid down the basis of such a viable unit with a population of 20 lakhs and revenue of Rs 50 lakhs<sup>4</sup> which was further extended. It was symbolic of people's aspirations for bigger administrative units in Independent India. 'Only those States that have a population of about 50 lakh of people and a revenue of about 8 crores of Rupees could be considered as fit Units for the purpose of Federal Union'<sup>5</sup>

1 *ibid*

2 All India States' People's Conference Constitution 26th June 1939 p 1

3 Interview with Prof. Gokul Lal Asawa first Prime Minister of former Rajasthan Union on 6.1.1979 at Jaipur

4 All India States' People's Conference Resolutions

5 N. N. Misra—The Indian Annual Register, 1947 Vol. 1, Calcutta p. 218

This joint march of the Congress and All India States People's Conference towards freedom of the country and integration of States was temporarily thwarted by the declaration of the Second World War and India's unwilling participation in it. The thread was picked up after the Second World War and both organizations worked in close co-operation. The All India States People's Conference's approach to national problems such as War issues<sup>1</sup> and Princes' role<sup>2</sup> brought it nearer to the Congress which in consonance with the advice of Gandhi appointed a sub-committee to bring States' people within the orbit of the Congress organization. This sub-committee consisting of J. L. Nehru, Bhublal Desai, Vallabhbhai Patel and J. B. Kripalani recommended the reservation of seats on the basis of population for the States' representative in the provincial Congress Committee.<sup>3</sup> The British in their role of 'divide and rule' tried to create a wedge between this growing force and did not accord any importance to States' people in Cripps's proposals and the Cabinet Mission Plan by not recognizing States' People's Conferences as the representative of States' people and relied solely on their puppet Princes to stage a re-entry in Indian politics even after the June 3, 1946 declaration to partition and free India.<sup>4</sup> But these two organizations working as a closely knit body prevented the Indians to be balkanised. After the withdrawal of British Paramountcy over Indian States and the country attaining independence the old distinction between British Provinces and Indian States vanished altogether. Thus All India States

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1. States' People and the War for Democracy. The States' People Vol. 2 Nos. 13-14, October-November 1939, p. 4.
  2. 'Princes' Claim Repudiated: People not Bound by Treaties'—The States' People Vol. 2 No. 5, February 1940, pp. 13-14.
  3. Indian National Congress Resolutions, 1940-46, Allahabad, pp. 45, 66, 93 and 94.
  4. On June 3, 1947, Lord Mountbatten on behalf of the British Government announced that long before June 1948, the Dominions of India and Pakistan would be established and that the question of Indian States would be dealt with in the light of the Cabinet Mission's Memorandum of May 12, 1946.—Mountbatten—Times Only to Look Forward, Speeches, 1947-48, London, 1949, pp. 13-18.

People's Conference having achieved its aim of establishing free and federal India dissolved its independent identity after the last Session at Gwalior in 1947<sup>1</sup> and its local units assumed the name of Congress Committee in their different regions

### Gandhiji and State People

The policy of the Indian National Congress towards the States' People's Conference was mainly guided by the shifting attitude of M K Gandhi, reverently called Mahatma Gandhi, who emerged as an undisputed leader of the Congress and so also of the country as a whole. Death of Gopal Krishna Gokhale in 1915 and the sickness followed by death of his only rival in the field, Bal Ganga Dhar Tilak in 1920 left Gandhi to dominate the political arena. Gradually he became a dominating leader with whom it was difficult to differ and argue<sup>2</sup> in the beginning of the twenties of the present century. Gandhi's shifting attitude towards the hopes and aspirations of the States' people were of little benefit to Congress, or the States' people or the country as a whole. During the Second Phase of Congress policy towards the States' people (1920-1932) he deliberately abandoned the Indian population<sup>3</sup> living in the States to come under the fold of the Congress and work for country's independence, with others enthusiastically doing so. Although Gandhi had explained that the policy of the Congress not to interfere in the internal affairs of the States was not due to lack of appreciation and sympathy towards their suffering lot<sup>4</sup> under the Princes, but the sheer necessity of States being independent entities under the International Laws<sup>5</sup> but he had to abandon

1 All India States People's Conference Resolutions. Nehru Memorial Museum Library. New Delhi.

2 —A K. Maumdar— Gandhi and the Freedom Movement. Journal of Indian History. Trivandrum. December 1967. p. 471.

3 Twenty four percent people in India lived in States — White Paper on Indian States. Delhi. 1950. p. 17.

4 M K Gandhi. The Indian States Problem. Ahmedabad, 1941. p. 64.

5 Legally speaking no effective change occurred in 1938 when the International Laws were the same and Gandhi decided to intervene in the affairs of the States in spite of his earlier rejection of the same on this plea.

this attitude towards States' People in 1938 when, though law being the same, he preferred not only to include the States' people as partners in the common fight against the British but also upheld the principle of a complete blending of the people living in the Provinces and States in the Third Phase of the Congress policy towards States' People s Conferences during 1938-1947

In fact Gandhiji was of the strong opinion that the Princes should act as Trustees of the People in their States, as he desired the capitalists to become Trustees of the labourers. He expounded the theory of Princes working as Trustees of the people as early as 1916<sup>1</sup>. He advised the Princes to strip off their jewellery and work as people s trustees. He further elaborated this idea in 1925 as under

"If the institution of kingship has a moral basis princes are not independent proprietors but only trustees of their subjects for revenue received from them. That Prince is acceptable to me who becomes a prince among his people's servants. The subjects are the 'real master,'"<sup>2</sup>

He vehemently upheld the theory of Trusteeship of the Princes and said

' My theory of trusteeship is no make-shift, certainly no camouflage. I am confident that it will survive all other theories. It has the sanction of philosophy and religion behind it "<sup>3</sup>

But neither of his acclaimed pious dreams of Princes working as trustees of the subjects and capitalists working as trustees of the workers could be realized in his own time and its chances receded further thereafter

1 M K Gandhi The Indian States Problem Ahmedabad, 1941 p 65

2 Young India January 8 1925

3 Harijan \* December 16 1939

Gandhi's abandoning the States' people, when they hopefully looked towards congress for guidance and leadership not only drove them apart to form their independent forum as All India States' People's Conference in 1927, but it also emboldened the Princes to form their organization of Chamber of Princes to meet to discuss and devise means to curb the activities of the people's conference in their States. Thus the agitating people had to suffer much in their States under the Princes. Above all the British statesmen found willing partners among the Princes to effect their policy of 'divide and rule'. The British helped the Princes through the British Agent and Resident residing there with the support of the British arms at their back, who helped to ever widen the gulf between the Prince and the People's Conference. The scheming British Statesmen tried even to differentiate among the Princes by assigning different salute gun status to them who were ever overconscious of their personal prestige and its explicit exhibition.<sup>1</sup> This absolute support of the Central Government to the Princes individually further strengthened the position of the Princes who devised schemes for their own benefit in mischievous plans. The intermediary time was utilized by the British who, in order to maintain their sway in India, sowed the ugly seeds of communalism which have not been weeded out so far. Gandhiji was forced to alter his attitude towards the States people in the changed circumstances in 1938 in spite of his vehement support for non intervention in the States as late as 1937.<sup>2</sup> The States' People's Conferences in the various States working under the central body of All India States' People's Conference had gained much popularity and support by 1938 and was demanding a close relationship with the Congress.

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- 1 Different 83 States were assigned different gun salute status from 11 to 21 which was only to keep the rulers away from each other who were ever mindful of their personal status and its explicit exhibition—Appendix No. 2
  - 2 Gandhi vehemently condemned the resolution passed by Working Committee of the Congress protesting about the prosecutions in Mysore State being ultra vires to Congress policy of non intervention in the States—*Harjan* "November 5 1937"

Gandhi acceded to it under the personal factor of keeping a hold on Congress leadership. The ideological differences in the Congress led to personal infight among the leaders of the Congress themselves. Gandhi, Nehru and Bose had sharp differences among themselves and Gandhi could win over the wavering Nehru in the characteristic relationship between the two<sup>1</sup> but he could hardly influence the stubborn Bose. Bose and his followers wanted something radical to do in order to wrest the Congress and thus the national leadership from Gandhi. They vehemently supported the cause of States People's Conferences and there were chances of its being accepted under the Congress Presidentship of S. C. Bose. Gandhi's popularity was at a low ebb for his inability to save Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Batukeshwar Dutt in a chance he got in Gandhi Irwin Pact in 1931. Gandhi being a correct pulse reader of the Nation could clearly visualize the situation and so he too vehemently supported the idea of the Congress embracing the States People's Conference in 1938 and further pleaded for the Swaraj for the country as a whole<sup>2</sup>.

The people and masses of India including States People were not wrong in expecting to enlist Gandhi's support and leadership for a mass Congress Movement throughout the country for Independence as he was emerging as the most popular leader in the early twenties of the present century. But Gandhi did not include States people in the movements launched by him. The States people were belied by him. Thus he did not act upon his declared dictums in 1920 regarding States People's aspirations and interests.

Gandhi's policy towards States people clearly denotes that while claiming to follow the maxim of 'one step is enough for me' he actually followed the common man's maxim 'one step at a time is enough for me'.

1 Nehru confessed to Gandhi that his heart goes to accept him while his reason withdraws him from doing so. To which Gandhi replied that he should follow his reasoning alone. Thus he could win over romantic Nehru.—D. G. Tendulkar — Mahatma Vol. VII Bombay 1954 p. 266

2 Congress Resolution at Haripura 1938.

However, it can not be denied that in his heart he had all the feeling for the people of the States and he genuinely wanted that not only the States' people should obtain socio-political rights from their rulers but also should they be equal partners in deciding the future political set up that India and the Indian States adopt after the British quitted India,

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## GROWTH AND PROGRESS OF STATES' PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE IN RAJASTHAN .

The city of Ajmer, located in the heart of Rajasthan, had a strategic importance in the political movement of Rajasthan. Being the only British Indian territory in this area it was the fit place for conducting political activities throughout Rajasthan.<sup>1</sup> There was no princely control over it and thus the political atmosphere here was more congenial than anywhere else. It was easy for the workers of the neighbouring States to assemble here and indulge in anti States activities and seek refuge here when ever expelled from their States.<sup>2</sup>

The city emerged as a centre of terrorist activities after Gandhi Irwin Pact. The young extremists who were not satisfied with it gathered here and started their work. A wave of terror swept the entire region. Pandit Jwala Prasad Sharma was the acclaimed leader who along with his associates<sup>3</sup> tried to shoot

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- 1 Political workers of the States got their literature published in and distributed through Ajmer.
  - 2 States leaders like Jai Narayan Vyas, Manikya Lal Varma and others took shelter here and also guided the political activities of Jodhpur and Udaipur from here.
  - 3 His chief associates were Ram Chandra Bapat, Jagdish Dutt, Madan Gopal, Hem Chandra, Sheo Dayal Goyal, Fatehchand Lal, —K. S. Saxena— 'The Political Movements and Awakening in Rajasthan', Delhi 1971 p. 226.



the Chief Commissioner of Ajmer in April 1932<sup>1</sup> and also made an unsuccessful attempt to kill the Viceroy during his visit to Bikaner<sup>2</sup> He was the main spirit behind the Mayo College Bomb Case and the shooting of Mr P A Dogra Deputy Superintendent (C I D) Ajmer on April 4 1935<sup>3</sup> Jwala Prasad's arrest on 29th April 1935 stirred the people of Ajmer<sup>4</sup> On Mahatma Gandhi's intervention he was released on 19th March 1939<sup>5</sup> and was accorded a warm reception at Ajmer<sup>7</sup>

When terrorist activities were in the full swing the second world war broke out and these people taking advantage of the event accelerated their activities and celebrated Independence Day on 26th January, 1940<sup>8</sup> with great enthusiasm and the National week from 8th April 1940 to 16th April, 1940<sup>9</sup> Following railway workshop strike,<sup>10</sup> Jwala Prasad Sharma was

- 1 Letter No 920 1 Conf 32 dated 3 May 1932 from the A G G in Rajasthan to Government of India File No 18/7/32/Political of 1932—Home Political—National Archives of India New Delhi,—Ram Chandra Bapat was arrested for it
- 2 Statement of source C before Police File No 44/63/35 Home Political National Archives of India, New Delhi
- 3 Fatehchand was arrested for hiding bombs in the Campus of Mayo College for which along with Laju he was kept in jail for one and a half year—Statement of Fatehchand Dated 26 June 1935 before the Ajmer Police—File No 44/63/35 Political—Home and Political, National Archives of India, New Delhi
- 4 File No 44/63/35 Political—Home and Political Department, National Archives of India New Delhi
- 5 D O Letter No 1024 C/A S Confd/35 Dated 15 August 1935 from Chief Commissioner Ajmer to the Secretary to the Government of India Home and Political National Archives of India New Delhi.
- 6 K S Saxena The Political Movements and Awakening in Rajasthan, Delhi 1971 p 226
- 7 *ibid* p 227
- 8 *ibid* p 230
- 9 *ibid* p 231
- 10 It was believed that Jawala Prasad Sharma as General Secretary of Railway Workshop Union instigated the workers to go on a sit down strike—D O Letter No 85 (C) A F 036/41 Dated 26th August 1941 from the Resident to the Home Department Government of India File No 12/7/41 (Pcl) I of 1941 Home and Political Department, National Archives of India New Delhi

arrested <sup>1</sup> who later escaped successfully from the central jail <sup>2</sup>

Besides terrorist activities in the city, the Ajmer-Merwara Provincial congress committee was also working actively under central direction and during the 'Quit India Movement' of 1942 its prominent leader Hari Bhau Upadhyaya along with other associates were arrested <sup>3</sup> for their activities in Ajmer Merwara and political agitation in the city continued till the attainment of freedom. After independence Ajmer was placed as Part 'C' State with Hari Bhau Upadhyaya as its Chief Minister which was finally merged in Rajasthan as a result of the recommendations by the States Re organization Commission in 1956 <sup>4</sup>

During the freedom struggle Ajmer also became a centre of activities of All India States' People's Conference. The Rajasthan leaders attending the First Session at Bombay in 1927 <sup>5</sup> returned with great enthusiasm and made frantic efforts to start a forum through which they could co-ordinate the political activities in all the States of Rajasthan, and Ram Narain Choudhury succeeded in holding the First Regional Council at Ajmer in 1931 which was called as Rajputana States' People's Conference <sup>6</sup>. Similar attempts to hold a political conference of all

1 Confidential . . .

1 dated 17th September  
by Government of India —  
Political Department,

National Archives of India New Delhi

2 Telegram No. V/S II III dated 1st March from the Chief Commissioner Ajmer to Secretary Government of India, — File No. 3/9/44 POL (I) 1944 Home and Political Department National Archives of India New Delhi.

3 They were Bal Krishna Kaul, Ram Narain Choudhury, Gokul Lal Asawa, Rishi Dutt Mehta, Mukht Eshari Lal Bhargava, Ladu Ram Joshi, Swami Karamanand, Amba Lal Mathur, Shobha Lal Gupta and Smt. Gomti Devi Bhargava, — Report of Superintendent of Police Ajmer to Chief Commissioner Ajmer Home and Political Department National Archives of India New Delhi.

4 States Re organization Act (1956).

5 Many leaders from Rajasthan attended it, chief being Vijai Singh Pathik, Ram Narain Choudhury and Jai Narayan Vyas — All India States' People's Conference, Subjects File No. 25/6 Nehru Memorial Museum and Library New Delhi.

6 R. N. Choudhury "Aadhunik Rajasthan ka Utthan" Amer 1974 p. 104.

the workers of different States in Rajasthan were made by Jai Narayan Vyas who wanted to hold the meeting at Jodhpur but the attempt was thwarted by the stern repressive measures adopted by the State authorities. With great difficulties Jai Narayan Vyas succeeded in holding the Conference in a tehsil of Ajmer called Beawar in 1934.<sup>1</sup>

When in 1933 the All India States People's Conference adopted its formal constitution fresh attempts to form a Regional Council of all Rajasthan States,<sup>2</sup> were made. The scheme could not be successfully implemented on account of the lack of co-ordination among leaders. However a session of the said council was held at Udaipur in 1946<sup>3</sup> under the presidency of Gokul Bhai Bhatt but the Regional Council could not be much effective and the political workers in different States had to rely on their own resources. Thus, in reality the All India States' People's Conference functioned in Rajasthan only through its local units which were named as 'Praja Mandal' or 'Lok Parishad'.

Jaipur Rajya Praja Mandal was the first to be founded in the year 1931 but it confined its activities to the socio economic regeneration of the people of the State and was not politically active till 1938. It was the Marwar Praja Mandal established at Jodhpur (1934) which took up the political work for the first time in Rajasthan. It was followed by Kota Rajya Praja Mandal in 1938. Mewar Praja Mandal was established at Udaipur in 1938 and in the same year the Alwar Rajya Praja Mandal was also formed. The Bharatpur Rajya Praja Mandal was established in 1939 and Jaisalmer Praja Mandal was founded in 1940. The Bundi Praja Mandal came into existence in 1944. In some States due to rigorous measures adopted by their rulers the All India States' People's Conference could not form its branches and they had to be contented with branches opened on behalf of these States outside their territorial jurisdiction such as, Sirohi

1. Sumnesh Joshi: *Rajasthan Main Swatantra Sangram ke Sainani* Jaipur 1976 p. 266.

2. Constitution of All India States People's Conference. Article II—All India States People's Conference Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library New Delhi.

3. Sumnesh Joshi: *op cit.* p. 307.

People's Conference was formed in Bombay in 1933, Bikaner People's Conference was established in Calcutta in 1936 and Jaisalmer Praja Mandal was formed in Jodhpur in 1945

These branches of the All India States' People's Conference worked well in Rajasthan and they stirred the conscience of the people of Rajasthan and awoke them from their deep slumber

### NORTH-WEST RAJASTHAN

#### JODHPUR

The State of Jodhpur was the first to associate itself with the All India States' People's Conference when Jai Narain Vyas a member of Marwar Hitkarini Sabha, Jodhpur (established 1917) attended the first session of All India States' People's Conference held at Bombay on 17th and 18th December, 1927<sup>1</sup>. On his return he made an attempt at opening a branch of All India States' People's Conference at Jodhpur which became fruitless owing to Prime Minister Sir Donald M. Field's repressive measures<sup>2</sup>. Jai Narain Vyas was the first man to see the vision of a united Rajasthan to be formed by the merger of different states. He soon realized that through press media, he could infuse the spirit of patriotism and unity among the people of Rajasthan<sup>3</sup>. He, at the age of 28, became the editor of weekly 'Tarun Rajasthan' which was published from Ajmer. In this capacity Jai Narain Vyas came in close contact with stalwarts like Prof. G. R. Abhyankar of Sangli, Barrister P. Chudgar and Amrit Lal Seth, Editor of 'Janmbhumi,' who were all ardently working for the people's cause in Indian States.

Jai Narain Vyas tried to organize 'Marwar State People's Conference' on 11th and 12th October, 1929 at Jodhpur for which elaborate arrangements had been made but the State authorities came in the way. They not only disallowed the holding of the Conference but also arrested Jai Narain Vyas on 23rd September 1929 charging him as a 'mischief monger' who had within the last year or two raised and fomented on that unfounded agitation both in the press and on the platform against the administration and individual members of the State Council. Their malevolent

<sup>1</sup> All India States' People's Conference Papers—Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi

activities first came to light in the month of September 1923 when he brought into Jodhpur and put the so called seditious books and leaflets as 'Acharya's works of Swami Vivekananda' and 'Gandhism' <sup>1</sup>

The suppressive attitude of Jodhpur administration crippled the Marwari Hitkarini Sabha. However, the Jodhpur political workers did not lose heart and they formed another organization known as 'Marwar Youth League' in 1931. It assigned to Jai Narain Vyas to hold the Marwar State People's Conference which could be held at Pushkar on 24th and 25th November, 1931 <sup>2</sup> wherein the necessity of a responsible government in Marwar was emphasised and several resolutions advocating the need for the establishment of responsible government, grant of rights of the citizenship, spread of education in Marwar, etc., were adopted <sup>3</sup>

The State authorities on March 1932 issued a notice banning the people to form associations or to take part in activities calculated to disturb law and order situation in Marwar. Yet the Marwar Praja Mandal was established in 1934 by Man Mal Jain, Abhai Mal Jain and Chhagan Raj Chopaniwala. Its aim was to attain responsible government and safe guard civil liberties in the State. It accorded a warm public reception to Jawahar Lal Nehru on 10th March, 1936 wherein Nehru appealed to the people of Jodhpur to think themselves as a part and parcel of the Indian struggle against the British <sup>4</sup>

The Jodhpur Prime Minister Sir Donald M. Field immediately declared 'Marwar Praja Mandal' as an unlawful association, where upon Man Mal Jain and Abhai Mal Jain founded a new association as 'Nagrik Adhikar Raksha' Sabha' in 1936 but this too was declared illegal and the leaders were arrested about which Baba Narsingh Das lamented to the Congress President — "If these sun-dried bureaucracies are not checked from their nefarious activities, our programme of establishing Congress

1 Report of I. G. P. Jodhpur to British Resident Dated 16th November 1925 — R. S. A. Bikaner

2 'Tyagbhumi' November 27 1931

3 Ibid.

4 'The Indian' 23rd March 1936

Committees in the States would not be carried out in the near future '1

In such a strained political atmosphere 'Marwar Lok-Parishad' was born in May 1938 with its main object being the establishment of responsible government 'under the aegis of the Maharaja' '2 The use of word 'Lok' in place of 'Prajā' in the nomenclature of this new party had a special significance Jai Narain Vyas, who was the main inspiring force behind the political awakening in the state was in exile at that time He believed that the word 'Prajā' being used for subjects in connotation with 'Raja' gives a sense of slavish mentality, and therefore, the word Lok meaning people should be used as it was the people's will that was to be supreme in the movement '3

But even 'Marwar Lok Parishad' could not find favour with the state authorities and adopted high-handed policy towards it But the method of repression could not deter the spirit of the people determined to secure a responsible government '4 The bureaucracy stooped to the meanest method to finish the 'Lok Parishad' in its infancy The meetings of the 'Parishad' were disturbed by the hired agents and stooges of the ruler Malicious propaganda was also carried on by the opponents and opportunists indulging in dirty insinuations '5 On one occasion organized hooligans bodily lifted the Chairman and occupied the

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1 Letter of Baba Narsingh Das to the President All India Congress Committee dated November 4 1937

2 Article 2 Constitution of the Marwar Lok Parishad 1938

3 Jai Narain Vyas 'Deshi Rajya Lok-Parishad' appeared in Nav Jyoti November 1 1938

4 Sobhag Mal Mathur 'Formation of the Marwar Lok Parishad' Proceedings of R H C 1967 Jaipur 1938 p 143

5 (a) Notice— 'Marudhish Ki Jai' written by Jagdish Lal (citizen of Jodhpur) Printed at Prabhakar Printing Press Jodhpur dated November 7 1938

(b) Notice— 'Swagatam (welcome)' by Ganesh Das Bohra secretary Shri Raj Bhakt Desh Hitkarini Sabha Jodhpur printed at Prabhakar Printing Press, Jodhpur

(c) Notice— 'Vijai Laxmi Pandit Is Patra Ki Aur Dhyani Dene Ki Krapa Karen' issued by Radha Kishan Purohit dated November 10 1938 printed at Prabhakar Printing Press Jodhpur

chair<sup>1</sup> But the enthusiasm in people was so great that these third degree methods proved of no avail

Jai Narain Vyas emerged as an undisputed leader of the people in Jodhpur (Marwar)<sup>2</sup> and was held in high esteem<sup>3</sup> Even Maharaja Gangi Singh of Bikaner, who was himself a repressionist described him 'He is thoroughly honest, incorruptible man, true to his conscience and political creed'<sup>4</sup> and urged the state authorities to take a lenient view towards him and to allow him to return to Jodhpur and share the administrative responsibilities He made a prophecy which later became true, 'I say, he will prove as an asset and you will never be sorry for having supported your adversary because you know he is going to survive you and also destined to play a more important role in politics'<sup>5</sup> As a result, when Jodhpur ruler decided to establish 'Advisory Board,' as a safety valve to the more vocal and politically minded people to give vent to their feelings, opinions and grievances,<sup>6</sup> Jai Narain Vyas was nominated to it

Some of his co-workers objected and there arose a controversy about Jai Narain Vyas's joining the Council<sup>7</sup> But all India leaders, like-Deshbandhu Chitrangan Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru, came to his rescue and they clarified the position in a statement—"In our view this principle includes self-reliance in all the activities which makes for the healthy growth of the Nation and resistance to bureaucracy as it impedes our progress

1 Notice— 27th November Ki Ghatna Per Do Shabad'—November 29 1938—Printed at Sumer Printing Press Jodhpur

2 Ram Narain Choudhury Vartman Rajasthan p 138

3 'The Tribune' October 1 1929

4 Letter to Sir Donald M Field Prime Minister of Jodhpur.

5 ibid (Shri Vyas was Chief Minister of Rajasthan after Independence and merger from 1951 to 1954)

6 Note No C 2644 dated 8th december 1937 from Judicial Minister to Prime Minister Jodhpur (Village Panchayats and Advisory Boards in Marwar 1938)

7 Ranchordas Gattani opposed his nomination in a Government body and also the manner in which Vyas exerted Lok Parshad's approval—'Sahyog Aur Uskey Bad'—written by Ranchordas Gattani J N Vyas also replied to it justifying his stand

towards Swaraj We are, however, anxious to end this fruitless verbal discussion, making it clear that Council-entry is, and can be, thoroughly consistent with the principle of non-co operation as we understand that principle to be "1

Jai Narain Vyas's action proved as a boon He could organize the 'Marwar Lok Parishad' on solid footing Had he not joined the Advisory Council, the 'Marwar Lok Parishad' would have met the same fate as were met by 'Marwar Praja Mandal' and 'Nagr Adhikar Rakshak Sabha' earlier

The declaration of the Second World War and India's unwilling participation in it, stirred not only the political scene of the British provinces but also state's people who deemed it to be the proper time to agitate for more rights in the administration Demand to establish responsible government in the state under the leadership of Jai Narain Vyas was launched by 'Marwar Lok Parishad' 2 The leaders of 'Marwar Lok Parishad' were promptly arrested under the Marwar Ordinance Act, 1932 and were put in various jails for one year On 29th March, 1940, the 'Marwar Lok Parishad' was declared as an unlawful body 3 But this could not deter the determined workers of the 'Marwar Lok Parishad' who continued the agitation under its first dictator, Mathura Das Mathur 4 The State authorities promulgated section 144 at Mathura Das Mathur was arrested on 3rd April, 1940 and was interned for one year in Parbatsar 5 The police made lathi charge and more arrests were made The second dictator, Ramesh Das Gattani, was seriously injured in lathi-charge and about 100 other workers were also injured

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1 Pattabhi Saramayya : 'History of the Indian National Congress' Vol. 1 Bombay, p. 271

2 Jai Narain Vyas was assisted by Achleshwar Prasad Purshettam Prasad Kishore Lal Mehta Abhai Mal Jain C. R. Chopaniwala and Gan Lal Vyas - Sumnesh Joshi, 'Rajasthan Mein Swatantrata Sangraha Ke Samani' 1976 Jaipur p. 269

3 The Jodhpur Government Gazettee (Extra ordinary) March 28 1940

4 Later on he joined Cabinet in Rajasthan after merger and held charge of various departments He also worked as General Secretary of C. I. Council New Delhi

5. 'The Hindustan Times' April 4 1940



This repressive policy of the Prime Minister, backed by the Maharaja was severely criticised and an impartial enquiry into the police atrocities was demanded by the 'Marwar Lok Parishad'. In June 1940 Jawahar Lal Nehru as President of All India States' People's Conference deputed Dwarka Nath Kachru to visit Jodhpur and to report on the political situation in the State<sup>1</sup>. The Maharaja, the Prime Minister and the State authorities did not co-operate with him and Kachru submitted an adverse report on the State stating that the political atmosphere was suffocating there and even the registration of typewriter was essential<sup>2</sup>.

The arrests of popular leaders infused new life and vigour in the people of Jodhpur. The city now became the scene of daily agitation demanding the release of their leaders and curtailing arrests. Realizing the futility of the repressive measures, the State authorities started negotiation with the 'Marwar Lok Parishad' and the following compromise emerged in June 1940.

(i) The Jodhpur Government recognized the Marwar Lok Parishad as a popular democratic institution and agreed to register it (ii) The 'Marwar Lok Parishad' was to make it clear in its constitution that its object was to get responsible government in Marwar under the aegis of His Highness, and (iii) The Marwar Lok Parishad could work for the attainment of such responsible government by constitutional means only and the government promised help<sup>3</sup>.

The leaders arrested earlier were released and they were given a warm public reception<sup>4</sup>. But, this compromise was short-lived as the State authorities were in no mood to relent. Hence, the position began to deteriorate soon after. In 1942 the State authorities came into clash with the people at Chandawál and Nimaj<sup>5</sup>. The 'Marwar Lok Parishad' passed a resolution condemning the inhuman assaults on the 'Marwar Lok

1 Karam Bhumí " June 17 1940

2 Harijan " June 20 1940

3 Vaidya Kanha ya Lal " Progressive Jodhpur under British Prime Minister Sir Donald M Field Bombay 1942 p (24)

4 The Hindustan Times " April 5 1941

5 Jai Narain Vyas " Responsible Government Campaign in Marwar " Ajmer p 5

Parishad's workers at Chandawal and Nimaj.<sup>1</sup> Further in their meeting held on May 11, 1942 the 'Marwar Lok Parishad' voiced the feelings that in the long run the people's struggle was bound to be successful.<sup>2</sup> Its present constitution was suspended and Jai Narain Vyas was appointed dictator with full powers to carry on the struggle against the autocratic rule of the State Government. Jai Narain Vyas vehemently criticised Sir Donald M. Field and demanded his removal as the Prime Minister. The State authorities replied back with severe repression and an order was issued to deport Dwarka Nath Kachru and Kanhaiya Lal Vaidya on the grounds that they were acting in a manner prejudicial to the maintenance of public order and 'efficient prosecution' of the war.<sup>3</sup> On June 12, 1942, Bal Mukand Bissa died in the jail as a result of atrocities.<sup>4</sup> Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru as President of All India States' People's Conference in his article on Jodhpur condemned it and supported the demand for the removal of the Prime Minister, Sir Donald M. Field. Mahatma Gandhi observed, "Let me hope that the Jodhpur Darbar will satisfy the moderate demands<sup>5</sup> of the 'Marwar Lok Parishad' and let me further hope that the people of Jodhpur having resolved upon achieving their purpose through suffering will not rest till they have reached their immediate goal."<sup>6</sup>

1 Letter No 1544 dated April 2, 1942 from I. G. P. Jodhpur to P. M. Jodhpur—File No. 24/2 Vol. 1 (Political) Government of Jodhpur, Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner.

2 Letter No. T/79 dated May 12, 1942 from I. G. P. Jodhpur to P. M. Jodhpur—File No. 24/2 Vol. 1 (Political), Government of Jodhpur, Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner.

3 'Jodhpur Again'—Editorial in National Herald July 11, 1942.

4 The Hindustan Times, June 22, 1942 and National Herald June 24, 1942.

5 'The National Herald' June 4, 1942.

6 The following were the demands:

(i) Rule of law to be established.

(ii) The New Reforms (Advisory Assembly) should be scrapped and the constitutional reforms for responsible government to be introduced, and.

(iii) Municipal Act of 1940 to be revised.

7 Harijan, August 2, 1942.

The leaders of 'Marwar Lok Parishad' now took the support of the masses by opposing the practice of unreasonable cesses imposed by Jagirdars on them <sup>1</sup> A number of lags, such as—Kansa lag allocation of Latai, Chouth, Jagirdar's share on peasant sale-deeds and their mortgage deeds were vehemently opposed by the people The leaders of 'Marwar Lok Parishad' pointed out that some of these cesses were already declared illegal by the Chief Court and by the Maharaja in Council, but the Jagirdars went on increasing their economic atrocities and the government went on backing them <sup>2</sup> The leaders of the 'Marwar Lok Parishad' kept the general public in an excited mood<sup>3</sup> and Chandawal, Nimaj Phalodi, Sojat and Nagaur became the scene of agrarian disturbances

In its open session on 9th February, 1942 held at Ladnu <sup>4</sup> the 'Marwar Lok Parishad' decided to observe Responsible Government Day on 28th March, 1942 Ranchor Das Gattani as its President demanded the abolition of Lag-Bag but the 'thikanedar' of Chandawal did not allow the workers of Lok Parishad to observe the Responsible Government Day in his village Those who reached Chandawal in response to Lok Parishad's call were assaulted with 'lathis' and spears resulting into many persons receiving injuries who had to be admitted to Jodhpur hospital <sup>5</sup> President of the 'Marwar Lok Parishad,' Ranchor Das Gattani, went to Chandawal and on enquiries learnt that the assailants were entertained with drinks by the Kunwar of Chandawal <sup>6</sup>

1 File No 18 Vol I Political Government of Jodhpur Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner

2 Va dya Kanhaiya Lal : Progressive Jodhpur under British Prime Minister Sir Donald M Field—p 25 (Abu Collection records University of Rajasthan Jaipur)

3 Fortn ghtly Report of I G P for the period 13th August 1942 to 28th August 1942 File No 18 Vol I Political Government of Jodhpur Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner

4 Hindustan Times February 14 1942

5 Ladies were also beaten as one Smt Sushil Devi of Sojat received many blows of lathi and was admitted in the hospital — Veer-Arjun April 1 1942

6 Hindustan May 24 1942



more than nine persons. About elected persons, it was provided that not less than fifty-two of the non-officials were to be elected by the constituencies fixed by His Highness. The term of the Assembly was three years,<sup>1</sup> yet His Highness could at any time dissolve the assembly or extend its term in special circumstances.<sup>2</sup> The Chief Minister was the ex officio President of the Assembly. The Deputy President was to be nominated by His Highness. The Legislative Assembly was given only limited powers<sup>3</sup> which were too short of people's aspiration and so the Marwar Lok Parishad rejected it and demanded in their working committee meeting real and full transfer of power to the people.<sup>4</sup>

The Government of Jodhpur Act could not be put into practice in face of Lok-Parishad's rejection of it and the quick pace of political events inside and outside the State.

When negotiations between the State authorities and leaders of 'Marwar Lok Parishad' were going on for the future set up of government in the State, the Thikana Jagirdars continued their atrocities on the people. And thus, in October 1946 the Parishad had to start a campaign against the repressive policies of the Jagirdars in rural areas.<sup>5</sup> It was decided to hold a meeting at Dabra village in the district of Didwana in 1947, where 700 families of Pokarna Brahmins were forced to leave the village on flimsy ground.<sup>6</sup> The Jagirdar resorted to further suppression and arrested the leaders including Radha Kishan Jat, Dwarka Das Purohit, Mathura Das Mathur and Chagan Raj Chowpasniwala who were charged with seditious acts.<sup>7</sup> They were however, released by the popular ministry being established by Jai Narain Vyas in 1948, when agitation was suspended and cases were withdrawn.

The constitutional position did not undergo any specific change until June 3, 1947 when the British Government declared

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1. *ibid* Article—17 (i)

2. *ibid* Article—19(i) (b)

3. *ibid* Article—35 and 36

4. *The Hindustan Times* August 27 1946

5. Bhagwan Das Kela *Deshi Rajyon Ki Jan Jagriti*

6. *ibid*

7. *ibid*

independence for India by dividing the country into two independent countries of India and Pakistan<sup>1</sup> The Indian States Rulers were left free to join either of the two union or eved remain independent as their treaty obligations were to end as soon as the British quit India<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile the young Maha raja Hanwant Singh succeeded his father the late Ummed Singh on 21st June 1947 who proved to be very willy and crafty in his manoeuvrings M A Jinnah allured him to join Pakistan<sup>3</sup> wherea, the Indian Government wanted Jodhpur s accession to the Indian Union for they were thinking in terms of creating a strong province comprising the States of Jodhpur Bikaner and Jaisalmer which could guard<sup>4</sup> the long frontiers with Pakistan At such a critical stage the leaders of the Marwar Lok Parishad under the guidance of Jai Narain Vyas and his associates worked hard to see that the Jodhpur State acceded to the Indian Union<sup>5</sup> and were successful in foiling the impious designs of Maharaja Hanwant Singh the ruler of the State who was left with no other alternative but to accede to the Indian Union and also to grant a popular ministry Jai Narain Vyas was appointed as Pradhan Mantri on March 3 1948<sup>6</sup> of a coalition ministry which worked for Jodhpur s final merger in Rajasthan on 1st April 1949<sup>7</sup>

## BIKANER

Bikaner was the second largest state in the then Rajputana<sup>8</sup> with its southern and eastern portions forming a part of the vast

1 op cit

2 Government of India Act 1947,

3 V P Menon The Story of the Integration of the Indian States Madras 1961 pp 112 113

4 ibid p 250

5 V D Mathur Growth and Progress of States Peoples Confer ence in Jodhpur a paper submitted to Indian History Cogress Kuru kshetra sess on 1982

6 Proclamation of Maharaja Hanwant S ngh

7 Report on the Adm nistrat on of Rajasthan 1950 51 p 2

8 Jodhpur was the largest State with its area as 36 021 sq miles while the area of Bikaner State was 23 317 sq miles Ja pur State with its area of 15 590 sq miles was having the biggest populat on of 2 631 000 persons while population of Jodhpur was 2 125 000 and that of Bikaner State only 936 000 parsons

sandy track known as the Bagar, the north west and part of the north lying within the Great Indian Desert, while the north-east corner was the least fertile section<sup>1</sup>. It was founded in 1489 A.D. by Rao Bika, a Rathore Chief, the sixth son of Rao Jodha, the founder of the neighbouring state of Jodhpur<sup>2</sup>. The most prominent ruler of Bikaner State was Maharaja Ganga Singh (1880-1943) who succeeded the throne as its 21st ruler on 31st August 1887<sup>3</sup> and was invested with full powers in 1898. With his versatile personality and actions he made a marked impact on the origin and work of the people's conference in his own state. Ganga Singh acclaimed international eminence for being the sole Indian signatory to the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919 and attending the meetings of the League of Nations as a member of the Indian Delegation. He was amongst the founders of the "Chamber of Princes" in 1921 and attended the Round Table Conferences during 1930-32 in London as its Chancellor. As a forward looking administrator he envisaged the prosperity of the people by initiating the famous "Gang Canal" project, which has now turned the area as grainery of Rajasthan. He was a chivalrous Rathore Rajput and so far as the promotion of Hindu ideals were concerned his enthusiasm was second to none. He could foresee that the demand for responsible government which was rising in the early decades of the present century inside the British provinces would one day spread in the princely states as well<sup>4</sup>. So, he established Legislative Assembly in Bikaner State in 1913,<sup>5</sup> although there was no such demand by the people of the state at that time. Though the form of the Assembly was defective from many sides but as a show piece it was well constituted and established. In fact the state was still a hot house

1 Erskine Imperial Gazetteers of India Provincial Series p 399

2 G. H. Ojha History of the Bikaner State Vol I p 96

3 K. M. Pannikar His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner ' p 33

4 In 1920 he said "It is quite clear that any grievance and discontent in British India still more anarchy and sedition are bound sooner or later to spread to our States and to affect the Indian Rulers and their Governments" —Mitra The Annual Register Calcutta 1920 p 189

5 Thus Bikaner was the first to have Legislative Assembly in Rajputana though Mysore could claim to be first in India to have Representative Assembly in 1881

of repressions and police atrocities. The imposition of bans on political activities, imprisoning political leaders and the check on the civil liberties were still in vogue<sup>1</sup>

Within the State People's Conference, Sarva Hitkarini Sabha was the first to be established in 1913 by Swami Gopal Das at Churu. Hindu, Muslims, Christians, Jain, Buddhists could become its member which worked for the eradication of social evils prevalent in society. It did a pioneering work in education by establishing Sarva Hitkarini Putri Pathshala for girls and Kabir Pathshalas for the untouchables<sup>2</sup>. The Sabha demanded compulsory education for children in Bikaner leading to the establishment of a few schools by the state administration. But the Maharaja felt uneasy in his seat over these developments and managed to arrange a complaint by vested interests of religious and social order to make false charges against the members of the Sabha. On getting the alleged complaints of anti-Maharaja activities by the Sarva Hitkarini Sabha, he initiated the famous Bikaner Conspiracy Case, a case which was instituted because of the demand for clean administration in the state and exposure of the ruler before the British authorities<sup>3</sup>. The arrest and trial of its leaders in Bikaner being highlighted in the National Dailies<sup>4</sup> acquainted the people about the plight of subjects of the Indian States widely.

1 Demoder Prasad Singhal, *Dreamland of Responsible Government in Bikaner*, published on 1st July 1946, Alwar pp 4—5

2 Mahatma Gandhi termed untouchables as Harijan in an article later in *Navjeevan*—dated August 2, 1931

3 During the Second Round Table Conference in London, the true picture of autocratic and suppressive nature of Ganga Singh's administration was exposed when he was making tall claims of clean administration and Legislative Assembly in the States. Leaders like Khubchand Saraf, Satyanaran Saraf, Swami Gopaldas Chandanmal, Badr Prasad, Shan Lal Pyarelal were supported by Amrit Lal Seth, Editor of *Janmbhumi* and P. L. Chudgar, Bar at Law of All India States People's Conference—All India States People's Conference Papers, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi.

4 *The Hindustan Times*, August 2, 1934; *Tribune*, August 2, 1934; *Arjun*, August 2, 1934.



During the arrest and trial of the alleged 'Bikaner Conspiracy Case,' Vaidya Magha Ram<sup>1</sup> tried to establish Bikaner Praja Mandal on 4th October, 1936 but he was promptly externed from the state for 6 years by the Maharaja who claimed that no leaf of a tree could make any move in his State without his permission. Magha Ram went to Calcutta and formed 'Bikaner-Praja Mandal' at Calcutta to enlist the support of citizens of Bikaner's State. He was elected as Secretary, 'Calcutta Youth League' and as such was much influential with students of Bengal. During the 'Bikaner Conspiracy Case' no advocate of Bikaner was prepared to risk his career by advocating the cause of the accused persons<sup>2</sup> and permission to bring advocates from outside the state was not granted. At that time two young advocates, Mukta Prasad Saxena,<sup>3</sup> who had settled in Bikaner from Aligarh and the other one Raghubar Dayal Goyal son of a famous advocate of Bikaner, were inspired by the feelings for reform and they took the courage to defend the accused from the state managed drama. Raghubar Dayal Goyal was assisted by his two munshis Ganga Das Kaushik and Dau Dayal Acharya.<sup>4</sup> Though they could not succeed in their mission to get the accused free from the State outrages yet a need for political organization was brought to their heart. Ganga Das Kaushik met Jai Narain Vyas at Nagaur in 1940 and acquainted him with the affairs of Bikaner and was advised to have training in political organizations being conducted by Hiralal Shastri at Banasthali along with Dau Dayal Acharya and returned to Bikaner in early July 1942.<sup>5</sup>

On 22nd July 1942 under the presidentship of Raghubar Dayal Goyal a meeting was held in the house of Rawat M. I. Par-eekh where other political workers such as Mukta Prasad Saxena, Ganga Das Kaushik and Dau Dayal Acharya decided to establish 'Bikaner Rajya Praja Parishad'<sup>6</sup> with the aim of attainment of

1 He as a student heard Mahatma Gandhi in 1921 at Banaras and was so impressed that he joined Congress in 1921 and made Bikaner his field of dedication action afterwards

2 Sunnesh Joshi op cit p 329

3 *ibid* p 184

4 *ibid* p 330

5 *ibid* p 760

6 *ibid* p 761

## Growth and Progress of States' People's Conference in

responsible government under the aegis of the /  
The organizers submitted a written official note of their organization to the state Prime Minister but the Maharaja and his die hard bureaucrats were not satisfied with their aim to work 'under the aegis of the Maharaja' and tried to crush it with an iron hand. On 29th July, 1942, Raghuvar Dayal Goyal was arrested and externed out of the State under the Public Safety Act 1932 (The Black Act) <sup>1</sup> Raghuvar Dayal went to Ajmer and contacted the leaders of All India States' People's Conference. He went to Bombay to meet Amrit Lal Seth, Editor of 'Janmbhumi,' Bombay and revealed the realities of the state in this paper <sup>2</sup>. He informed the Prime Minister about his intended entry into Bikaner in spite of the state's ban on his entry in the state and was arrested on 26th August, 1944 along with his co workers Ganga Das Kaushik and Dau Dayal Acharya and they were all externed from the state <sup>3</sup>. However, inspite of the repressive policy of the state under the leadership of Pandit Magha Ram Vaidya 'Bikaner Praja Parishad' continued its demand to establish a responsible government in the state and on 26th October, 1944 a protest day was organized against the state policy of repression.

Ganga Singh on February 3 1943 was succeeded by Sadul Singh who continued the same policy of repressing the 'Bikaner Rajya Praja Parishad'. Sadul Singh Claimed that not only the majority of lakhs of people in Bikaner State are happy and contented but they also love and respect their Maharaja. He took exception to the few thousand people led by the leaders of 'Praja Parishad' who have been dislodged by the so called liberal and modern policies<sup>4</sup> of the Maharaja's that now they do not have anything to agitate but to attack the Raja and the Jagirdars and

1. ibid p 762

2. ibid p 330

3. B. D. Kela. Deshi Rajyon Ki Jan Jagriti pp 205-7-10

4. It is only from the Praja Parishad platform that such attacks on their Ruler are made. Does it therefore not point to something more being behind the policy and all these activities of the Praja Parishad beyond the normal demand for responsible government and civil liberties which cry can no longer rightly be indulged in the Bikaner State in view of reform already announced? —Sadul Singh to Jawahar Lal Nehru Letter—dated 15th July 1947

call them by names, such as—'Annkhos (instead of Anndata) giving 'Amrit to the Indian leaders and poison to the people in the State The 'Praja Mandal leaders were accused of inciting Jat and Rajput communities against each other The ruler adopted severe methods to see that the 'Praja Parishad could not celebrate 'Martyr's Day and Political Prisoners Day The Maharaja alleged that these activities were only calculated to deliberately keep alive the memory of the unfortunate incident and which in no way could help bring about or maintain peaceful atmosphere in the state In a letter to Jawahar Lal Nehru he made out a long list of objectionable activities of the Praja Parishad including their attempt to hoist tri-colour and holding meetings where highly seditious and inflammatory speeches were being delivered It was alleged by the Maharaja that the people were being misled, that 'Gandhi Raj was coming so the loyalty of the people to their ruler and the flag might be shaken The people's leaders were also being alleged to organize strikes and inciting the students with half-truth and untruth and also making false and mischievous propaganda in the press or through pamphlets against the Maharaja<sup>1</sup>

The political atmosphere of the State was surcharged with minor incidents<sup>2</sup> and the State's people observed 23 January 1946 as 'Netaji Day and 26 January 1946 as Independence Day and demanded the establishment of a responsible government in the state<sup>3</sup> Political prisoners demanding newspapers

1 Letter from Maharaja Bikaner to Jawahar Lal Nehru dated 1st July 1947—K M Munshi—Pilgrimage to Freedom Bombay 1967 p 497

2 A sixth class student Dwarka Prasad Kaushik replied with Jai Hind instead of usual Present Sir in school roll call on 27th December 1945 and was expelled from Rampuria Inter College—Vishwamitra—January 1 1946

And a student writing Jai Hind in his exercise book was beaten by the Head Master of High School at Nohar (Bikaner)—Hindustan—January 2 1946

Income Tax Bill envisages that a person will be treated as citizen of Bikaner only when he stays in Bikaner for about 120 days in a year and pays Income—Tax which agitated the people

3 Praja Sewak January 30 1946

and interviews with their close associates, threatened that if these legitimate demands were not meted out they would observe hunger strike <sup>1</sup> The State authorities took repressive measures which were deplored by Jawahar Lal Nehru at Udaipur <sup>2</sup>

Section 144 was in force for about 5½ months and when lifted in April 1947 the 'Bikaner Rajya Praja Parishad' held its session at Rajgarh which was then on the eastern border of the state adjoining Punjab and the troubled area of Shekhawati in Jaipur State. The President, Swami Kumarananand, held out a threat to the Maharaja that civil disobedience would then be state wide, whereupon Maharaja made a large number of arrests <sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, the Bikaner ruler could not remain indifferent to the persistent demands for constitutional reforms in the state. The political pressure was so great that he was forced to take steps in this direction as early as in the year 1943 when Sadul Singh declared "I entertain the ardent hope of seeing my people associated with the administration of the state on an ever increasing measure" <sup>4</sup> Accordingly he introduced some improvements in the Bikaner Legislative Assembly which was functioning since 1913 <sup>5</sup> Yet, the powers of the Assembly were extremely limited and the Maharaja kept all real authority with himself and showed no intention of delegating real power to the people's representatives. The proceedings of the Assembly were arbitrary in nature and showed a deliberate desire to curb the opposition <sup>6</sup> The leaders of the 'Praja Parishad' were not satisfied with these half hearted measures and resorted to agitation for delegating powers to the people's representative. To curb it the state government made its control over the press even tighter

<sup>1</sup> ibid

<sup>2</sup> Nehru said— Bikaner has recently achieved an unenviable notoriety conditions in the State prison are particularly bad and the lot of political prisoners deplorable —Praja Sewak" January 30 1946

<sup>3</sup> op cit—Letter from Sadul Singh to Jawahar Lal Nehru dated 15th July 1947

<sup>4</sup> The Bikaner Rajptra (Extraordinary) —March 8 1943

<sup>5</sup> "Bikaner Legislative Assembly Edict 1945

<sup>6</sup> The State government's attitude could be studied from the proceedings of the Bikaner Rajya Sabha October 28 1944 to March 20 1947

Thus, on analysis we find that the origin and success as well as fulfilment of its object of the States' People's Conference in Bikaner State were the outcome of Maharaja Ganga Singh's repressive attitude in his State. This famous Rathore Ruler attained much fame in India and abroad for his versatile personality but in his effort to crush the people's aspiration he drove them to agitational methods. His policies were followed by his successor Sadul Singh who also tried to ride rough shod over the people's aspirations and only alienated people's allegiance to State Flag as well. Thus, an opportunity was lost to have amicable ruler-subjects relations otherwise the rulers would have been proved to be real leaders in changing times.

### JAISALMER

When political agitations for the establishment of responsible government were being carried on in the various States of Rajasthan, Jaisalmer being mainly arid zone<sup>1</sup> was one of the most ancient<sup>2</sup> yet politically unaware of the agitation in other States. The autocratic ruler or the Maharawal Raghunath Singh Bhati kept the people suppressed about their grievances and discontent with a despotic hand<sup>3</sup>. Sagar Mal Gopa was among the first of those who tried to agitate the people against the autocratic rule and also to have their political rights. He was exiled from the State but he carried on the propaganda in press from Nagpur. His father died in March 1941, and he asked the British

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1 About the prevailing conditions in Jaisalmer Nehru remarked: This is one of the wonders of the world — *Jaisalmer Ka Jan Andolan* — published by District Congress Committee Jaisalmer. File No I/JSL Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner.

2 James Tod op cit p 6

3 Sarangdhar Dass member of All India States' People's Conference deputed by J L Nehru as its President to study the political and economic situation of Rajputana States in 1940 stated— Jaisalmer is certainly the worst State among the Rajputana States as far as nation building services are concerned. The feudal nature of the administration is more evident in suppressing public opinion than in rendering any service for the welfare of the people and for the development of the State. —*The Hindustan Times* June 28 1940

Resident to allow him to visit Jaisalmer on that sad occasion. The Resident informed him that the State had no case against him and as such he should not anticipate 'ill treatment from Darbar' <sup>1</sup>. Yet on 22nd May, 1941 when going for a natural call he was arrested, severely beaten and confined to solitary jail and later was sentenced to six years' rigorous imprisonment on the charge of delivering anti-State speeches and instigating the people against the rule of the Maharawal <sup>2</sup>. Police atrocities to the extent of thrusting chillie powder into his nose and rectum <sup>3</sup> were strongly opposed in their letters by Jai Narain Vyas, Secretary All India States' People's Conference and Sheikh Abdullah, Vice President of All India States' People's Conference <sup>4</sup>. This could hardly deter the police Sub-Inspector Guman Singh who threatened him to face the dire consequences thereof <sup>5</sup>. Next day, i.e.—on 3rd April, 1946 it was announced that he had committed suicide by sprinkling kerosene oil on his body and setting himself to fire. He died in the hospital on 4th April 1946.

The death of Sagar Mal Gopa created a stir in the country and Jawahar Lal Nehru and Jai Narain Vyas vehemently criticised the barbaric act. The Maharawal now getting apprehensive of the circumstances appointed a single man enquiry commission of G S Pathak (who later became the Vice President of the Indian Union) who reported that Sagar Mal Gopa committed suicide for fear of being beaten or put to torture by the police Sub-Inspector, Guman Singh <sup>6</sup>.

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1 Letter No 1619/418/90 dated 22nd March, 1941 from the Resident Western Rajputana States to Sagar Mal Gopa —File No 2/JSL Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner

2 Judgement delivered by B S Piel Sessions Judge Jaisalmer —File No 2/JSL Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner

3 Extract from the Diary of Sagar Mal Gopa

4 File No 2/JSL Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner

5 op cit. (Sagar Mal Gopa's dying statement)

6 The report of the Enquiry Commission appears to be prejudicial and it was not expected from a jurist of Late Dr G S Pathak, eminence to act at the instance of the autocratic ruler.

Meanwhile Mehta Lal Vyas had established on 15th December, 1945 'The Jaisalmer Praja Mandal' in Jodhpur to avoid immediate arrest in the State <sup>1</sup>

Sagar Mal Gopa's brother, Shiv Shanker Gopa, tried to establish 'Praja Manal' in Jaisalmer<sup>2</sup> in 1939 but as a result of the State's repressive policy, he had to leave the State immediately and he joined his brother at Nagpur <sup>3</sup>

The death of Sagar Mal Gopa and the countrywide attention it got emboldened the people now, who were prepared to face any such cruelty of the State. On 26th May, 1946 Mehta Lal Vyas along with Jai Narain Vyas and their twenty associates entered Jaisalmer Territory <sup>4</sup>. On 27th May, 1946, Jai Narain Vyas hoisted the tri-colour (as a National Flag) and the people enthusiastically acclaimed—Inqulab Zindabad and 'Praja Mandal Zindabad

Before anything could be achieved by the States' People's Conference in this area the ruler of Jaisalmer did not put much resistance and acceded to the India Union. This decision was all the more inspired by the fact that this State would in future form border with Pakistan and he had already rejected Jinnah's plea to join Pakistan on the ground that in no case would he be in a position to risk the interests of Hindus<sup>5</sup> and also he would openly side with them in an event of a communal clash. His pronounced Hindu feelings were appreciated and there was no stir in the State until the State was finally merged into the Union of Rajasthan on 1st April 1949 <sup>6</sup>

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1 Bhagwan Das Kela *Deshi Rajyon ki Jan Jagriti* p 206

2 'Jaisalmer ka Jan Andolan'—op cit

3 op cit

4 Bhagwan Das Kela op cit p 266

5 V P Menon op cit p 112

6 V P Menon op cit p 114

## GROWTH AND PROGRESS OF STATES' PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE IN SOUTH-WEST RAJASTHAN :

### SOUTH-WEST RAJASTHAN

#### UDAIPUR :

The initial success of the Bijolia Peasant's Movement,<sup>1</sup> led Manikya Lal Varma to establish the 'Mewar Praja Mandal' at Udaipur in April 1938<sup>2</sup> and to demand people's rights, constitutional reforms and the amelioration of people's economic condition. Balwant Singh Mehta<sup>3</sup> presided over the first session and Bhure Lal Baya was elected as the Vice-President and Manikya Lal Varma being the chief force, worked as the Chief Secretary<sup>4</sup>. The main object of 'Mewar Praja Mandal' was to secure the establishment of a 'responsible government' in the State by

1 S S Saxena - 'History of Bijolia Peasant's Movement' Bikaner 1972 p 179

2 Rajat K Ray - 'Mewar the Breakdown of the Princely Order' Cf Robin Jeffry : 'People Princes and Paramount Power' Delhi 1978 p. 232

3 Sunnash Joshi - 'Rajasthan Mein Swatantra Sangram ke Sainani', Jaipur 1976, p 463 Balwant Singh Mehta was a popular figure who established Pratap Sabha in 1915 and also organized Pratap birth anniversaries and Pratap Mela at Haldighati

4 M L Sukhadia - 'Mewar Praja Mandal,' Udaipur.



peaceful and constitutional means under the aegis of His Highness<sup>1</sup>

The programme of the Mewar Praja Mandal' consisted of

(a) Effective enforcement of the provisions of the circular issued by the Mewar State prohibiting forced labour as a result of Bijolia Movement

(b) Introduction of the principle of election in the local bodies in the State and

(c) Amelioration of economic and social grievances of the people by starting constructive activities such as propagation of Khadi, spread of education, removal of untouchability abstinence from liquor and drugs<sup>2</sup>

The Prime Minister Dharam Narayan who was an autocrat through and through declared it illegal and its office was ordered to be closed Manikya Lal Varma was exiled from the State who took shelter in Ajmer from where he carried on propaganda for Praja Mandal through the press Restrictions were imposed on the entry of Newspapers in the State and thus the ruler tried to to jeopardize the work of the Praja Mandal

However, the workers of Mewar Praja Mandal tried to persuade the Prime Minister to give due recognition to it and Jamna Lal Bajaj also wrote to him in this regard<sup>3</sup> but the Prime Minister refused to be convinced As a consequence the leaders of Praja Mandal issued an ultimatum that if the ban on Praja Mandal was not lifted by 4th October 1938 Civil Disobedience Movement would be resorted to Meanwhile branches of the Praja Mandal were set up at Ahmedabad and Bombay as well<sup>4</sup> and Mahatma Gandhi's blessings were obtained<sup>5</sup> Manikya Lal Varma conducted the Civil Disobedience Movement<sup>6</sup> from his

1 Article 2 Constitution of the Mewar Praja Mandal —(as amended upto 23rd July 1941)

2 Upaipur Rajasthan District Gazetteers Jaipur 1979 p 59

3 ibid

4 ibid

5 'Shodhak' Vol 7 part B Serial No 20 p 79

6 ibid p 80 In Ajmer he was helped by Nand Lal Joshi a member of the Executive Committee of Mewar Praja Mandal

exile in which people of Udaipur enthusiastically participated. But the State government did not relent and continued its policy of repression and arrested Bhure Lal Baya Vice President of the 'Mewar Praja Mandal' and interned him in Sarara Fort without any trial<sup>1</sup>

The Movement was further strengthened when the authorities at Nathdwara arrested Narendra Pal Singh and Prof Narayan Das and police resorted to 'Lathi' charge. As a protest, a complete 'hartal' was observed on 30th August, 1938, Section 144 of Cr P Code was promulgated by the State authorities and arrests were made. 40 persons were arrested in Udaipur alone and the total arrests in the State numbered 238 and in addition, fines were also imposed on them. Criminal charges of rioting were levelled against them but as they could not be proved, all of them were later released. Mewar police was keen on arresting Manikya Lal Varma who was the guiding force, and on 2nd February 1939 when he was returning from Deoli after consultations with certain leaders there, he was arrested and beaten up by 'Lathis'. Profusely bleeding he was dragged and kept in jail. Mahatma Gandhi on learning this inhuman conduct of the Mewar police issued a statement<sup>2</sup> and advised the leaders of the Praja Mandal to institute legal proceedings against the police and act fearlessly. He observed 'Civil resisters of the state should remember that the real battle is yet to come. The States, big or small, seem to be taking concerted action. They are copying the methods adopted by the British in British India during the 'satyagraha' struggle and are likely to improve upon them in frightfulness. They fancy they have no fear of public opinion for there is none in the States except in rare cases. But the civil resisters who are worth their salt, will not be deterred by any frightfulness'<sup>3</sup>

On March 3, 1939, Mahatma Gandhi advised the 'Mewar Praja Mandal' to postpone the 'satyagraha' with the hope that the ban on the organization would be lifted and people granted freedom of speech, press and association. But these hope were belied<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibid p 81

<sup>2</sup> Ibid p 82

<sup>3</sup> 'Harijan' February 8 1938

<sup>4</sup> Udaipur Rajasthan District Gazetteers, Jaipur 1978 p 60

satisfied I also beg to submit to Your Highness, not only ought to gain the respect and loyalty of your subjects but also share in the glory, Mewar will have, in the removal of British Government from India

We have every hope that Your Highness, being a Suryavarshi and born on the blood of Maharana Pratap, will revive the glory again in the eyes of the world by acceding to the demand of independence <sup>1</sup>

A public meeting was organized by the leaders of Mewar Praja Mandal in the evening of 21st August 1942 to enlighten the people about it. Apprehending danger, the Maharana resorted to quick action and a large number of prominent leaders of the Mewar Praja Mandal were arrested under the plea that they were likely to excite breach of peace in the meeting <sup>2</sup>. Yet the meeting was held and attended by thousands of people who were acquainted with the developments. More arrests were made after the meeting including some student leaders.

After one and a half years in jail, the leaders of the Praja Mandal were released at a time when unprecedented floods in river Khari were taking a heavy toll. Nearly 125 villages had been swept away and more than 5000 people and 100000 cattle drowned, <sup>3</sup>. The Praja Mandal workers were the first to reach the stricken area and rendered relief work. Mewar Government also joined in relief work and a joint relief committee of the state and the public was established with Bhawani Shanker Vaidya, a member of the Working Committee of the Praja Mandal as its Chief Secretary <sup>4</sup>. Bhure Lal Baya, Vice President of the Praja Mandal was the organizer. Within a year's work, substantial help was rendered to rehabilitate the victims.

The Praja Mandal workers, on return from the jail, found an atmosphere of despondency and utter frustration. They thought it essential that all the workers of Central India and Rajputana States

1 M. L. Sukhadia *Mewar Praja Mandal* Udaipur

2 *ibid*. The above cited letter was delivered at 5 p.m. on 21st August 1942 and the leaders were arrested in the day.

3 *ibid*

4 *ibid*

should meet and chalk out a common programme<sup>1</sup> With Udaipur as its venue the conference of Rajputana Madhyabharat Sabha was convened on April 1944 where 205 workers of various states assembled and expressed their confidence in Mahatma Gandhi and August Resolution and took up his constructive work<sup>2</sup> The Mewar Government was trying to exhibit that the people had committed a blunder in participating in the 1942 Movement<sup>3</sup> The government had earlier lifted the ban on public meetings, imposed in August 1942, but due to anti-imperialist speeches, delivered at this conference, it was re-imposed

The Praja Mandal workers took up the constructive work and the Mewar Harijan Sevak Sangh was re organized and was entrusted with the task of introducing social and economic reform Bhil Sewa Work, which was suspended earlier, was resumed and schools for Bhils were started<sup>4</sup> Hostels for women, Kisans and Bhils were opened at Bhilwara, Bijolia and Udaipur respectively<sup>5</sup> Attention was paid to cottage industries and labour welfare<sup>6</sup>

On 7th March 1944 C. Rajagopalachari visited Udaipur and met the leaders of the Praja Mandal He advised them to give an assurance to the Mewar Government that the Praja Mandal now wished to work for political and social reforms and removal of the grievances of the public and that it was futile to stick to August Resolution any more but the leaders replied that it was started under the leadership of Gandhiji and it would amount to a breach of confidence in him<sup>7</sup>

On 6th April 1945 Gandhiji was released and in September 1945 the Mewar Government lifted the ban imposed on the Praja Mandal which now tried to strengthen its base and an enrolment drive was started in the five districts of the State<sup>8</sup> Tilak Jayanti,

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1. Ibid

2. Ibid

3. Ibid

4. Ibid

5. Ibid

6. Ibid

7. "Shodhak" Vol 7 Part—B Serial No 20 p 80

8. Ibid p 80

Gandhi Jayanti and Independence Day were celebrated by organizing 'Prabhat Pheris', unfurling of the tri colour flag reciting national songs, holding meetings and criticising the government for the fat salaries of its officials and protesting against the trial of I N A men on the occasion <sup>1</sup> Demand was also made for the exemption of the college fees from the students <sup>2</sup>

The Praja Mandal invited the All India States People's Conference to hold its 7th session at Udaipur which was held there from 31st December 1945 to 2nd January 1946 435 delegates from States like Jammu and Kashmir, Baluchistan Rajputana, Central India Central Provinces, Orissa Baster, Manipur Tripura, Kooch-Bihar, Karnataka Hyderabad (Deccan) Sendur and Begur, Punjab Mysore Travancore, Cochin Pudukota and the Western India States attended the Conference <sup>3</sup> Jawahar Lal Nehru was the president of the session The Mewar people showed great enthusiasm and attended the session in thousands <sup>4</sup> A large number of public meetings were held and the demand for establishing a responsible government in Mewar was reiterated <sup>5</sup>

The year 1946 witnessed a great commotion in the state The Praja Mandal took up several matters with the state government simultaneously It criticised the government for giving employment to non bonafides of the State for postponement of municipal elections for shortage of food stuffs in the State and its failure to meet the shortage and for high salaries to the States' officials Anti British rallies were held throughout the State, urging upon the Britishers to quit India Important news both local and national were disseminated to the public by displaying the same on boards, kept in the Praja Mandal offices <sup>6</sup> The Praja Mandal appointed a Food Grain Committee to deal with acute scarcity of foodgrains and sent proposals to the government for regulated

1 *ibid* p 81

2 *Udaipur Rajasthan Gazetteers Jaipur 1979 p 63*

3 All India States People's Conference Records Nehru Memorial Museum and Library New Delhi

4 *ibid*

5 *ibid*

6 *Udaipur Rajasthan District Gazetteers Jaipur 1979 p 63*

distribution of food grains through the Association of Grain Merchants<sup>1</sup>

As the political scene was changing fast in the country, the demand for constitutional reform was gaining strength. Consequently the Mewar Government announced the introduction of certain constitutional reforms in the State and a constitution for the State, as drafted by K. M. Munshi, was proclaimed on 23rd May 1947.<sup>2</sup> But as the provisions contained in it fell short of the expectations of the leaders of the Praja Mandal, it was not accepted by them in its totality. However, the Praja Mandal workers participated in the elections to the legislature and captured a number of seats.<sup>3</sup> Mohan Lai Sukhadia, the Praja Mandal leader, was appointed as a Minister on May 23, 1947 who later worked as the Chief Minister of Rajasthan from 1954 to 1971.

Maharana Bhupal Singh of Mewar received an invitation from the Maharaja of Jodhpur (Marwar) to join the Bhopal Plan for acceding to Pakistan. To it this descendant of Rana Pratap replied—'My choice was made by my ancestors. If they had faltered, they would have left us a kingdom as large as Hyderabad. They did not, neither shall I. I am with India.'<sup>4</sup> He willingly acceded to the Indian Union in 1947 and then joined Rajasthan on 18th April 1948 and was later made Maharaj Pramukh, the first and the only one in Independent India<sup>5</sup> and as a special case, his privy purse was considerably raised.<sup>6</sup>

1 *ibid* p. 63

2 Article 13 of the Constitution dealt with Fundamental Rights in Paragraph 1 as— No person shall be deprived of his life, liberty or property without due process of law nor shall any person be denied equality before the law within the territories of Mewar.—K. M. Munshi, *Pilgrimage to Freedom* 1967 Bombay p. 160.

3 Udaipur, Rajasthan District Gazetteers Jaipur 1979 p. 64.

4 K. M. Munshi, *Pilgrimage to Freedom* Bombay 1967 p. 163.

5 *ibid* p. 163.

6 K. M. Munshi wrote to the Sardar: 'You have fulfilled the dream for which Maharana Pratap fought and died. But to give his descendant an inferior status would be a historical wrong.' The Sardar appreciated the point and Maharana Bhupal Singh was styled as Maharaj Pramukh.

**BUNDI ·**

The people living in the State of Bundi became politically conscious of their grievances when Bijai Singh Pathik visited the state frequently during Bijolia Movement<sup>1</sup> In 1922 the people in Bundi were subjected to fresh taxes,<sup>2</sup> besides rendering usual 'begar' to the ruler They resented the imposition of these taxes and started the agitation against the ruler under the able leadership of B S Pathik and Ram Narayan Chowdhury of Rajasthan Sewa Sangh<sup>3</sup> The administrative Council of Bundi<sup>4</sup> alleged that the agitation was the work of professional mischief mongers who were not citizens of Bundi and were unnecessarily inciting the people There were police atrocities at 'Namana' village as a result of which a state-wide agitation was started Maharao Raghuvir Singh tried to maintain peace by declaring a ban on begar' in 1922 but people's demand for reforms continued

In Bundi, the people's conference, termed as 'Bundi Praja Mandal' was set up in 1931,<sup>5</sup> with Kanti Lal as its president He delivered speeches about civic rights of the people and stressed upon the establishment of a responsible government in the State<sup>6</sup> A number of demands were put forward by Praja Mandal in 1932 which included the replacement of nominated representatives by elected ones in the Council, appointment of local persons at high offices, trial of criminal case by Jury establishment of elected Municipal Councils and Village Panchayats and grant

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1 S S Saxena · *History of Bijolia Peasants' Movement* " p 261

2 File No 252 Basta No 28 Bundi Records Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner

3 A Letter alleging 25 new taxes and many other hardships to the people was presented to the British Agent on 2nd June 1922 of which no serious note was taken —File No 252/28, Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner

4 It was established in 1821 during the minority of ruler Ram Singh to conduct State Administration with four ministers and continued up to 1948.

5 Basta No 1, File No 24—*Secret Record* Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner

6 *Bombay Chronical*, 18th March 1931.

of financial relief to the people<sup>1</sup> The State government paid no heed to these demands of the people and became more repressive by putting a ban on public meetings in 1935 ban on Newspaper — Rajasthan'—in September 1936 and also a ban on the entry of the revolutionaries in the State in 1937 Many revolutionaries used to come to Bundi from Kota Malwa and Mewar to escape their arrest by British police in neighbouring States<sup>2</sup> The British government on 14th December 1937 asked the ruler of Bundi to arrest these revolutionaries whose names were supplied, and surrender them to British government The British government also advised to crush all such revolutionary activities in the State with a heavy hand

Praja Mandal became all the more active and strengthened their demands for administrative reforms Its president Rishi Dutt Mehta was exiled from the State<sup>3</sup> for three years in 1937 for his anti British speeches and articles Thus, the Bundi Praja Mandal was weakened and when Rishi Dutt Mehta returned to Bundi in 1940, he opposed the proposed new constitution of the State-making the ruler all powerful with extensive rights

During the 'Quit India Movement,' Rishi Dutt Mehta and Brij Sunder Sharma launched 'satyagrah' in Bundi<sup>4</sup> Mehta was arrested and sent to jail in Ajmer from where he was released after a few months The Praja Mandal was derecognized Whereupon Rishi Dutt Mehta organized the movement again and established another organization 'Bundi Rajya Lok Parishad' in 1944,<sup>5</sup> but the State Prime Minister, Robson came in way and placed many conditions for its registration under the Societies Act Mehta threatened with 'satyagraha' and only then 'Bundi

1 Demands for Kaidar coin instead of the paper currency loans taken by Maharao to be repaid State Budget to include relief to the persons laid off by Government recently under the head of expenditure charity and simple and cheap judicial facilities were the main demands

2 Crossing Chambal in night and arranging meetings and then returning back to Kota in morning

3 Sumnesh Joshi : 'Rajasthan Mein Swatantrata Sangram Ke Salnani' Jaipur 1976 p 84

4 Sumnesh Joshi op cit p 85

5 ibid , p 86



held on February 7 1937 decided to send some persons to tour Kota and other adjoining States with the object of organizing a Congress Committee there<sup>1</sup> It evoked little response and only a few persons became member of the Praja Mandal It was the Haripura Congress resolution supporting the States People's Conference in States which infused some life and activity in the State Pandit Naynu Ram Sharma of Kota who attended the first session of all India States People's Conference in December 1927 at Bombay was elected as President of the Fourth Session<sup>2</sup> of Kota Raj Praja Mandal, which was held at Mangrol in May 1939 It demanded responsible government in the state and resolved to strengthen work in the State The next session was held at Kota on the 23rd November 1941 and was presided over by Abhin Hari Among the important resolution it passed was the demand for the removal of illiteracy supply of more medicines more service opportunities to the cultivators and remission of revenue on bad winter crops The main demand however was the establishment of full responsible government in the State under the aegis of His Highness<sup>3</sup> A 'Lok Sevak Dal' was also started to help the Praja Mandal

During the Quit India Movement the Kota Praja Mandal did outstanding work The Kota Praja Mandal launched a Satyagraha Movement in the State A complete hartal was observed and demonstrations were held by the Praja Mandal workers throughout the State The State authorities resorted to usual repressive methods and hundreds of persons were arrested This provoked the people and they closed down the city gates and took over the charge of the city administration Tri colour was

1 Letter No 1241/12/7 of 19 2 1937 from Political Agent Eastern Rajputana States Bharatpur to Member Mahakma Khas Kota —File No 160—P of 1937 Kota

2 The previous three sessions of the society when were held could not be found by C I D records It is said that they were held secretly — Confidential File No 12133 of the Kota Mahakma Khas

3 Confidential Fortnightly report for the term ending 15th December 1941 Police Office Kota (File No 12/15 Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner)

hoisted over the Kotwali and the police were compelled by the people to stay in barracks<sup>1</sup> Virtually the administration had been completely paralysed for three days and the city was under people's control<sup>2</sup>

The Dewan suggested the use of military force and entry into the city by breaking through the gates but Maharao Bhim Singh declined to do so Ultimately, on the third day, when Maharao assured the people that their grievances would be looked into and the police would not resort to repressive methods, the gates were re opened and the Dewan was dismissed by the Maharao<sup>3</sup> The Maharao also assured that necessary steps would be taken to establish a responsible government in the State<sup>4</sup> The agitation was then suspended The State authorities tried to settle the demand for popular representation in the Government by some constitutional experts but the plan could not be implemented on account of fast political developments in the country The ruler however, did not grant any constitutional reforms The agitation continued and ultimately the central government intervened and merged the State in composite administrative unit known as the Union of Rajasthan on 25 th March 1948

## BANSWARA

The erstwhile State of Banswara lay adjacent to Dungarpur in the south-west region of Rajasthan which was largely inhabited by Bhils The political consciousness in the state was infused by Bhupendra Nath Trivedi in the thirties of the present century when he came in close contact with the All India States' People's Conference leaders at Bombay He realized the need to work among the people of Banswara, and with the active support of enthusiastic workers, such as, Dhulji Bhai Bhavsar, Mani Shanker Jain, Chiman Lal Malot, Dhyanil Lal, Motilal Jadia and Siddhi Shanker Jha, he established the Banswara Praja Mandal<sup>5</sup>

1 B. D. Kela *Deshi Rajyon ki Jan Jagriti* p. 269

2 Ibid

3 B. D. Kela *Deshi Rajyon Ki Jan Jagriti* pp. 269-70

4 Kota Raj Patra (Extra ordinary Issue) August 1942

5 Sumnesh Joshi 'op cit' pp. 355-56

Realizing that the people's full support was with the Praja Mandal, the ruler accepted its existence but banned the unfurling of the tri-colour. Gokul Bhai Bhatt replied by getting the tri-colour stitched in his white Khadi cap, which attracted people's attention and many other young enthusiasts also displayed the tri-colour on their chests boldly.<sup>1</sup> As President of 'Sirohi Rajya Praja Mandal' he made the State's people's representation in the administration. During the Quit India Movement a satyagraha<sup>2</sup> was launched in the State. The State authorities continued with their same repressive policies and the agitation continued right upto 1947.

When under the changed political circumstances the ruler had no alternative other than to accede to the Indian Union. However, the State of Sirohi became a bone of contention when both Gujarat and Rajasthan put their claims upon it. On February 1, 1948 Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel decided to bifurcate the same with Mount Abu going to Gujarat and the major part of Sirohi to Rajasthan which came into effect from January 26, 1950.<sup>3</sup> Gokul Bhai Bhatt, President of the 'Sirohi Rajya Praja Mandal' together with his supporters agitated for Abu's merger with Rajasthan<sup>4</sup> as the majority of the people spoke Rajasthani language and it had been a part and parcel of Rajputana for many years.<sup>5</sup> As such, Abu was returned to Rajasthan as per the recommendation of the State Re-organization Commission on November 1, 1956<sup>6</sup> whereupon Rajasthan regained its soul in the form of Abu.<sup>6</sup>

### DUNGARPUR

The impact of political activities in Udaipur State was felt in Dungarpur State also which was frequently visited by the leaders of Mewar Praja Mandal. They sowed the seeds of discontent-

1. Sumnesh Joshi, op cit p 306

2. Report on Administration of Rajasthan 1950-51

3. Sumnesh Joshi, Rajasthan Main Swatantrata Sangram Ke Sainani Jaipur 1957 p 308

4. ibid p 308

5. States Re-organization Commission Report Delhi 1955 p 139

ment in the State's people against the ruler's atrocities<sup>1</sup> Bhogi Lal Pandya was the emerging leader of the state who actively participated in the 1942 Movement and demanded people's participation in administration

'The Dungarpur Rajya Praja Mandal' was established on January 26, 1944 with Bhogi Lal Pandya as its President Gauri Shanker Upadhyaya as Vice-President and Shiv Lal Kotriya as Secretary, and demanded the repeal of the state laws which had put a ban on private schools being run by people to educate youth in nationalism The other demands included the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive in the State, removal of 'Begar system and appointment of a State Chief Minister to be elected by the people themselves Gradually it gathered momentum in the State and the Maharwal resorted to the use of suppressive policy The leaders were arrested on 30th April 1946 to paralyse the activities of the Praja Mandal<sup>2</sup> But they were soon released in the absence of any substantial charges and proof against them

The Dungarpur Rajya Praja Mandal' organized its conference from 30th June 1946 to 5th July 1946 which was presided over by Bhogi Lal Pandya and was attended by Manikya Lal Varma Hira Lal Shastri Mohan Lal Sukhadia, Bhupendra Nath Trivedi Chhiman Lal etc<sup>3</sup> It was attended by thirty thousand people in spite of the state authorities' opposition to it It passed resolutions to abolish Begar in the state, to remove the ban on private schools to regularize land revenue to pay adequate wages to the labourers and to make concessions in the forest laws The authorities paid no heed to these demands and resorted to curb it with a heavy hand The police atrocities at Puna-wara school,<sup>4</sup> Jhoontha village<sup>5</sup> and Rastapal School<sup>6</sup> were

1 S S Saxena History of Bhopal Peasants Movement Bikaner 1972 p 208

2 Navjeevan 7th May 1946

3 Sumnesh Joshi op cit p 346

4 Navjeevan 16th June 1947 writes about its happening on 31st May 1947

5 S S Saxena op cit p 346

simply unabashed but all this could not deter the determined workers led by Bhogi Lal Pandya and the agitation continued as before. The State authorities levelled all kinds of false charges of looting, rape, burning of the customs post, forcefully drinking wine at the shops, meat-eating, etc., on the leaders but they could not succeed in proving them.<sup>1</sup>

With the mounting pressures of time, Maharawal Laxman Singh was forced to accede to the Indian Union in 1947 and Bhogi Lal Pandya was asked to nominate two members in the Interim Government on November 10, 1947. Gauri Shanker Upadhyaya and Bhika Bhai were nominated as Chief Minister and Minister respectively. They assumed office on December 1, 1947.<sup>2</sup> This arrangement, until Dungarpur's merger in Rajasthan on March 25, 1948, worked in the State.<sup>3</sup>

## MINOR STATES

The State of Shahpura was small in size and population.<sup>4</sup> It lay on the border of Udaipur and thus was accessible to the leaders of Udaipur. The veteran leader, Manikya Lal Varma, inspired the people of Shahpura to agitate for the establishment of a responsible government in the State. He himself guided the political work in Shahpura. Ramesh Chandra Ojha and Laxmi Dutt Kantia, taking a lead from M. L. Varma, established the 'Shahpura Praja Mandal' in 1937 and demanded a responsible government and socio-economic reforms.<sup>5</sup> No heed to their demands was paid to by the ruler, Ummad Singh and the people's agitation continued. In 1942 the movement which spread all over India, the people of Shahpura did not lag behind and a civil-disobedience movement was launched.<sup>6</sup> In spite of the arrests of the leaders, the people's agitation continued and the need of a popular government was stressed upon the ruler, who ultimately acceded to the

1 Sumnesh Joshi : op cit p 350

2 Sumnesh Joshi : op cit . p 350

3 Report on Administration of Rajasthan 1950-51

4 It had an area of 405 sq miles and population 61 173.—Appendix No 1.

5. Sumnesh Joshi . op cit p 517

6 ibid

Indian, Union after July 25, 1947<sup>1</sup> and formed a popular ministry in the state in September 1947 under the Chief Ministership of Prof Gokul Lal Asawa<sup>2</sup> It had a brief life and the state was finally merged in Rajasthan on March 25, 1948<sup>3</sup>

The Praja Mandal in the State of Kushalgarh was established in 1944 by the leaders, such as, Dadam Chand Joshi, Bhanwar Lal Nigam, Uchhab Lal Mehta and Vardhman Gadia<sup>4</sup> The Mandal demanded civil rights for the people and worked for the establishment of adult schools and mobile dispensaries,<sup>5</sup> In 1945 Harijan welfare work was also taken up As their agitation mounted high, the ruler of Kushalgarh formed a popular ministry in 1946 with Bhanwar Lal Nigam and Vardhman Gadia as ministers<sup>6</sup> The State acceded to the Indian Union in 1947 and was finally merged in Rajasthan on March 25, 1948<sup>7</sup>

The States of Tonk, Kishangarh, Pratapgarh and Lawa also became politically conscious in the forties of the present century and the people demanded the establishment of responsible governments but nothing tangible came out until 1947 when the rulers acceded to the Indian Union and their states were finally merged in Rajasthan on March 25, 1948<sup>8</sup>

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1 Leonard Mosley 'The Last Days of the British Raj,' London 1964

2 Sumnesh Joshi : op cit, p 335 —Prof Asawa worked as Prime-Minister of Rajasthan for a brief period, prior to Udaipur joining it on 18th April 1948

3 Sumnesh Joshi : op cit p 521.

4 ibid

5 ibid

6 ibid p 522.

7 Report on Administration of Rajasthan 1950-51.

8 ibid p. 2.

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## GROWTH AND PROGRESS OF STATES' PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE IN EASTERN RAJASTHAN .

### EASTERN RAJASTHAN

#### ALWAR .

**T**he State of Alwar attracted India-wide attention in 1925 when the despotic ruler Sawai Jai Singh indulged in diabolical cruelty. For some time the public resentment against the fresh hike in taxes<sup>1</sup> was going on due to the general economic depression and the rulers extravagance. In a dramatic manner, the state authorities called for people to express their grievances at Neemuchana village. The Inspector General of Police, Gopal Das Khatri, *opened fire at them without provocation*<sup>2</sup>. As a result a large number of men and women were killed. The police also indulged in arson and looting, and burnt many houses of the people and killed cattle to suppress the people's agitation<sup>3</sup>. The ruler of Alwar State instead of showing sympathy with his faithful subjects, tried to conceal the facts of crime committed on 15th May 1915 which added insult to the injury<sup>4</sup>. When the correspondent of 'Pratap' tried to proceed to the place of the incident,

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1 Rajasthan District Gazetteer Alwar Jaipur 1968 p 74

2. Bhagwan Das Kela : ' Deshi Rajyon ki Jan Jagriti ' , Allahabad 1948 p 210

3. *ibid*

4. 'Pratap,' July 29 1925

the state authorities put a bar on outsiders to visit Neemuchana<sup>1</sup> However, Kanhaiya Lal Kalantri and Ladu Ram Joshi of Rajasthan Sewa Sangh collected the information<sup>2</sup> and published the account of the harrowing tale of people's hardship in its weekly 'Tarun Rajasthan'. On learning about it the entire country was stunned and the atrocities were compared with the ghastly Jallianwala Bagh tragedy. Mahatma Gandhi not only condemned the action of the ruler but also took exception to the concealment of the fact by the ruler. Gandhiji described the incident as 'Dyemism Double Distilled'<sup>3</sup> Public demand for an impartial enquiry into the tragic incident echoed in the All India Congress Committee and in the session of Deshi Rajya Parishad which concurrently held their sessions at Kanpur in June 1925<sup>4</sup> The ruler of Alwar was thus forced to bow down to the wishes of the people and appointed an Enquiry Commission<sup>5</sup> which gave a belated figures of persons killed, wounded and the cattle burnt in the fire. It allotted Rs. 11,000/- as compensation for losses. But the enquiry conducted by the persons of Rajasthan Sewa Sangh and the report finalized by the Chairman of the Sangh, Mani Lal Kothari and Secretary Ram Narain Choudhury stated that 95 persons were killed and 250 injured and the loss of property was estimated to be between Rs. 50,000 and Rs. 1,00,000<sup>6</sup>.

Though belatedly the Neemuchana incident did attract the attention of the British officers in India. The bad finances of the state, the meo agitation and this gruesome tragedy gave an opportunity to the British authorities to interfere in the administration of the state. Finally the British authorities asked Maharaja Jey Singh to leave the state in 1933<sup>7</sup>. The incident is a landmark in the history of freedom struggle in the states. For centuries the people in the states had been driven like dumb cattle under the

1 Pratap, July 15, 1925

2 Ram Narain Choudhury, op. cit., p. 132

3 'Young India'

4 Shobha Lal Gupta, 'Gandhiji Aur Rajasthan', Bhilwara, 1969, p. 54

5 Pratap, July 27, 1925

6 ibid.

7 Rajasthan District Gazetteers, Alwar, p. 75



autocratic rule of their Maharajas the massacre at Neemuchana was a rude shock to them and their traditional loyalty towards their ruler was shaken. The heroic stand taken by the Neemuchana agitation against the despotic government gave inspiration to those teeming millions who were groaning under the autocratic and oppressive regimes and they became conscious of their political rights. There was an upsurge of political activity in the states of Rajaputana in the thirties of the present century and Praja Mandals were formed to redress the local grievances and the demand to establish responsible government in the states grew with added strength in course of time. With the Indian National Congress energetically supporting the States' people's aspirations in its Haripura Session,<sup>1</sup> Alwar Rajya praja Mandal was formed in 1938 by Hari Narayan Sharma and Kunj Behari Lal Modi.

The object of Praja Mandal was the attainment of responsible government under the auspices of His Highness the Maharaja.<sup>2</sup> At its inception Alwar Praja Mandal landed in trouble with its registration. It applied for registration<sup>3</sup> under Registration of Public Association Act but permission for the same was denied on the ground that its proclaimed aims and objects failed to satisfy the ruler. The word acceptable to the new Maharaja Tej Singh, were "the progressive association of the people with the administration of the State".<sup>4</sup>

The government resorted to crush it by a heavy hand and arrested the leaders Hari Narayan Sharma, Secretary of Praja Mandal, along with some congress leaders who worked in close co-operation with it. For two years it worked as an unregistered body and in order to create public opinion in its favour, the Praja Mandal

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1 Haripura Congress Resolution 1938

2 Article 2 Constitution and Rules of Alwar Praja Mandal 1938— To attain by all responsible and legitimate means such form of government as may be responsible to the people under the aegis of His Highness.

3 Letter dated February 24 1939 from the Joint Secretary Alwar Rajya Praja Mandal to Chief Minister Alwar File No 232/C/179/39—Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner

4. File No 232/C/179/39 Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner

strted organising ward meetings in various 'Mohallas' of Alwar. The government felt much disturbed over it and made a large number of arrests of Praja Mandal and Congress workers<sup>1</sup> The General Shcretary of All India States' People's Conference, J N Vyas, reached Alwar and was asked by the Alwar government to quit the state with its order reading as, "whereas during your last visit to Alwar you offended against the provisions of the Seditious Meetings Act of 1921 and your presence in Alwar is considered undesirable in the interest of public peace under Section 11 of the said Act I hereby order you to leave the Alwar State forthwith"<sup>2</sup> Thus, the state authorities were successful in suppressing the activities of Praja Mandal for some time The Praja Mandal was also weakened by infights among its workers over the elections of the office bearers ot Alwar Municipal Board<sup>3</sup> However, the Praja Mandal again applied for registration on 14th May, 1940 with its declared aim of attaining 'Responsible Government' The Chief Minister replied with the same argument that the aim of Praja Mandal should be 'the progressive association of the people with the administration of the state'<sup>4</sup> The leaders bowed down before the adamant administration of Maharaja Tej Singh and accepted the change proposed by the Chief Minister in its amended constitution<sup>5</sup> and the Praja Mandal was registered on August 1, 1940<sup>6</sup> The State authorities recognised the right of the Praja Mandal to educate popular opinion,

1 Report of C Krishnan Nair, General Secretary of the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee published in The Hindustan Times --July 3 1938.

2 *Bombay Chronicle*, ' July 20 1938

3 Though out of 18 members 15 were supported by Praja Mandal (being unregistered body so far) 2 Independent Party and 1 representing Anjuman i Islam Laxman Singh Tripathi Pradhan Alwar Congress committee was elected as Vice President of Alwar Municipal Board — *The Leader* ' July 10 1939

4 Letter No 232 C/179/39 Dated 16th May 1940 from Chief Minister Alwar to General Secretary Alwar Rajya Praja Mandal

5 Article 2 The aim of Alwar Rajya Praja Mandal is the progressive associat on of the people with the administration of the State'— Amended Constitution And Rules of Alwar Rajya Praja Mandar, 1940

6 D O Letter No 2—13KN/40 dated August 3 1940 from Chief Minister Alwar to Corefield Resident at Jaipur —File No 232/C/179-39 Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner

to ventilate the people's aspirations and requirements and to represent their grievances to the ruler in a constitutional manner. But Alwar Rajya Praja Mandal soon came into clash with State authorities over Jagir mauji issue. It sided with peasants in their legitimate rights against the Jagirdars to whom it denounced with the slogan of 'Down with Jagirdars Zoolum'.<sup>1</sup> The State authorities arrested the President of the Praja Mandal and suppressed the movement. During the Quit India Movement the Alwar Rajya Praja Mandal launched a satyagraha to demand responsible government in the State. A number of demonstrations and picketings took place and prominent advocates like Shobha Ram, President of Praja Mandal and Kripa Dayal Mathur, leading advocate abandoned their legal profession and wholeheartedly jumped into the movement with their demand for responsible government.<sup>2</sup>

The State authorities arrested the leaders but it could not subdue the agitation.

The Alwar Rajya Praja Mandal held its first conference in Khairthal Dharamshala at Alwar on January 16 and 17, 1944 under the Presidentship of Bhawani Shanker Sharma.<sup>3</sup> The Conference was inaugurated by Jugal Kishore Chaturvedi, a veteran leader of the Bharatpur Rajya Praja Parishad.<sup>4</sup> The President condemned the Government for its willful neglect in effecting constitutional reform in the state. He said, 'The people are losing patience and they demand something constructive and substantial'.<sup>5</sup> The Conference adopted a resolution that 'in spite of repeated demands for constitutional reforms from the people in the state no step has been taken so far. The horrors of the present war have brought home the importance of increasing association of the people in the administration. Even the declared policy of the state, the progressive association of the people with the administration of the state has not been carried out in practice. Now the time

1 *The Hindustan Times*, June 22, 1941.

2 Jugal Kishore Chaturvedi, 1942 *Ki Kranti Men Rajasthan Ka Yogdan* — Navyug Sandesh, October 20, 1952.

3 D. D. Gaur, *Constitutional Development of Eastern Rajputana State*, Jaipur, 1978, p. 168.

4 *ibid*, p. 169.

5 *ibid*, p. 169.

has come when immediate steps should be taken towards the establishment of responsible government. His Highness should be liberal enough to introduce constitutional reforms and thus recognise the birth right of the people. This Conference believes that these reforms would be based on true principles of democracy'.<sup>1</sup> Other resolutions passed included grant of proprietary rights to peasants in agricultural and abadi land in the 'Jagir Muafi' villages of the State. Abolition of Chowkidari Tax, removal of tax on export of local product, proper supply of kerosene oil and sugar, more schools and hospitals.

The Rajputana States Political Worker's Association held its first session at Alwar on December 3, 4 and 5, 1944 with an object to constitute a joint body to control and supervise all the Praja Mandals in Rajputana States and to activate the cause of civil liberties and responsible government.<sup>2</sup> The session was presided over by Kunj Behari Lal Modi, a prominent leader of Alwar Rajya Praja Mandal and many Praja Mandal leaders of Rajputana attended it.<sup>3</sup>

The Praja Mandal again launched agitation for responsible government in February, 1946, whereupon the State authorities arrested its leaders, such as - Shobha Ram, Ramji Lal Agrawal, Kunj Behari Lal Modi, Hari Narayan Sharma, Kirpa Dayal Mathur, Badri Prasad Gupta, Bhola Nath and Kashi Ram under the Alwar State Preventive Detention Act.<sup>4</sup> In June 1946, the Alwar Praja Mandal launched yet another agitation for the grant of proprietary rights to peasants in agricultural and abadi land in the 'Jagir Muafi' villages, but the State authorities tried to crush it with police atrocities. In protest to mass arrests and complete hartal was observed for three days. Ultimately the Government had to release all the workers of Praja Mandal<sup>5</sup> and on the

1 The Hindustan Times, January 22, 1944

2 File No. CB/BN 13/222 Fortnightly Intelligence Report of Rajputana States, Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner

3 Jai Narain Vyas of Jodhpur, Manikya Lal Varma of Udaipur, Hira Lal Shastri of Jaipur, Raj Bahadur of Bharatpur, Adityendra, Sumnesh Joshi, Gopi Krishna Vijavargiya, Sardar Harilal Singh and Ram Karan Joshi attended it.—Sumnesh Joshi—op cit p. 98

4 Ibid p. 99

5 Ibid p. 324

advice of Jawahar Lal Nehru, the agitation was withdrawn on September 2, 1946<sup>1</sup>

*Pressed by people's demand and upsurge* among the people His Highness issued 'Farmān-i-Shahī' on October 3, 1946<sup>2</sup> to appoint a committee to submit report on constitutional reforms. The Alwar Rajya Praja Mandal was not happy over the terms of *limited referenece of the committee and condemned it on the ground that the announcement did not at all show a desire on the part of the Government to transfer real power to the people*. The resolution of the working committee of the Praja Mandal was passed<sup>3</sup> on October 23, 1946, *to which no heed was paid by the authorities and the Praja Mandal prepared volunteers for 'satyagraha' to achieve the same*. The Praja Mandal agreed to participate in the Constitutional Reforms Committee but soon withdrew from it and pressed that—(a) the Reforms Committee should be called upon to frame a constitution for the government of the state and it should not be merely an advisory body (b) *some broad principles should be settled so that it might be definitely known what powers the legislature would have and how far the people were going to be associated with the future government, and (c) there should be, for the interim period some popular ministry*<sup>4</sup>

While the struggle for popular government was going on, the political events in the country developed fast and after June 3, 1947 declaration by the British Government and the meeting of Princes of Chamber on July 25, 1947, almost all the Princes of India with the exception of Junagarh, Kashmir and Hyderabad acceded to the Indian Union<sup>5</sup>. After the country's Independence on August 15, 1947, Maharaja Tej Singh announced in October 1947 to include three elected members to the State Administrative Council<sup>6</sup> but it could not satisfy the leaders

1 *ibid*

2 Alwar State Extra Ordinary Gazettee October 3, 1946

3 File No. 113/Gen/P. 46—Constitutional Reforms in Alwar State—Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner

4 File No. 114/Gen/P. 46—Constitutional Reforms in Alwar State—Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner

5 Leonard Mosley *The Last Days of the British Raj* London 1964 p. 192

6 Alwar State Extra-Ordinary Gazettee October 1947



and Rewti Saran Upadhyaya as Vice Presidents, Krishna Lal Joshi as Secretary and Adityendra as Treasurer of the Mandal <sup>1</sup> Its application for registration was rejected and instead the authoritarian government of Maharaja Brijendra Singh not only rejected the application for registration but also banned its activities As a result the president of the Praja Mandal on April 9, 1939 gave an ultimatum to the government threatening to launch a civil disobedience movement if the ban on Mandal's activities was not lifted and repressive laws not repealed The State Government paid no heed to the ultimatum thereupon the Mandal started Satyagraha <sup>2</sup> from April 21 1939 Meetings were organized at Bharatpur Deeg Goverdhan <sup>3</sup> Kaman Nagar and Pahari processions were taken out and speeches condemning the repressive policy of the state were delivered The Praja Mandal also tried to withhold payment of land revenue and to create a feeling of hatred against the administration <sup>4</sup> which could not be tolerated by the state a ministration and a large numbers of leaders and workers of the Praja Mandal were arrested The agitation continued for 8 months and in all 600 workers were arrested including 32 women <sup>5</sup> Ultimately on December 23 1940, a settlement was arrived at between the leaders of the Praja Mandal and ruler <sup>6</sup> All political prisoners were thereby released The Praja Mandal was registered and recognized with its modified name as Bharatpur Rajya Praja Parishad with its aims and objects as "to represent the popular grievances to the Darbar with a view to having them redressed, to advocate administrative reforms to educate popular opinion to take an intelligent interest in the affairs of the state as a means of preparing the people to undertake such constitutional responsibilities as His Highness may decide to give to them the work for the improvement of the

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1 Sumnesh Joshi op cit p 314

2 Report on the Administration of Bharatpur State 1939-40

3 Revti Sharan Sharma's Praja Mandal Geet was sung which soon became popular

4 Report on the Administration of Bharatpur State 1939-40 p 5

5 Sumnesh Joshi Rajasthan Men Swatantrata Sangram Ke Sainani \* Jaipur 1973 p 785

6 Report on Administration of Bharatpur State 1939-40 Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner

lot of the people in every way, and to work for communal harmony and unity”<sup>1</sup>

National Week was celebrated by Praja Parishad from August 27 to September 2, 1940 wherein meetings were organised at Bharatpur and various resolutions for the introduction of responsible government, elimination of corruption and removal of illiteracy were adopted. A copy of these resolutions was sent to K P S Menon, the Dewan, for necessary action but no step to implement them was taken at all.

The first political conference of the Bharatpur Rajya Praja Parishad was held at Bharatpur from December 30, 1940 to January 1, 1941, under the Presidentship of Jai Narain Vyas<sup>2</sup>. It reiterated the demand of a responsible government in the State. The State Government could not tolerate it and sentenced its General Secretary to one year's imprisonment after prosecuting him under Section 124 (A) of the Indian Penal Code for making a seditious speech<sup>3</sup>. By August 1942, the activities of the Parishad became increasingly intensified. It exploited public grievances arising from the failure of rains, hike in prices, scarcity of essential commodities and compulsory contribution for the War Fund. It also gave an ultimatum for 'Satyagraha' if their demand for a 'responsible government' would not be accepted immediately. When the state authorities paid no heed to it, the Parishad launched a 'Satyagraha' movement. Public demonstrations and picketings were organised, inciting speeches were made. During the course of the movement activities, such as insult to State officials, uprooting of forest boundary pillars and cutting off the telegraph and telephone wires were resorted to<sup>4</sup>. Its prominent leaders including Krishna Lal Joshi, Jugal Kishore Chaturvedi, Rewti Saran Upadhyaya, Ramesh Swami, Adityendra, Thakur Deshraj Gopi Lal Yadav, etc., were arrested but the State Government failed to curb the political upsurge in the State. In order

1 Bharatpur Raj Patra ' Vol XXX December 25 1939

2 File No CB/EN/13/222 Fortnightly Intelligence Report of Rajputana States—Bharatpur, Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner.

3 Report on the Administration of Bharatpur State, 1940-41

4 Report on the Administration of Bharatpur State 1941-42



to pacify the Praja Parishad agitation, Maharaja Brijendra Singh announced the formation of 'Brij-Jaya Pratindhi Samiti'<sup>1</sup> on 22nd October, 1942 which was to replace the Central Advisory Council with elected members and wider powers. The Praja Parishad successfully captured 27 seats out of the total 37 elected members for which elections were held in August 1943. Jugal Kishore Chaturvedi as leader and Adityendra as deputy leader worked as opposition party in the Bharatpur Assembly. It helped in cultivating political consciousness and in moulding a sound public opinion but the limitations and restrictions placed on the working of Samiti' the Praja Parishad leaders disassociated with it and in April 1945 they boycotted it to have true 'responsible government.'

The Second Session of Bharatpur Rajya Praja Parishad was held at Bayana on May 23 and 24, 1945 which was inaugurated by Jai Narain Vyas, Secretary, All India States' People's Conference. He laid stress upon the need of responsible governments in Indian States based on adult franchise with full powers to legislate and conduct the affairs of the State.<sup>2</sup> Ali Mohammad was elected as President of the Praja Parishad who vehemently criticised the shortage of food supply in the state and demanded ban on export of food grain from the State from July 1945 whereupon he along with 18 other workers of the Praja Parishad was arrested. All India States' People's Conference in its Srinagar meeting of August 8, 1945 condemned the heavy term of imprisonment to Ali Mohammad and Jugal Kishore Chaturvedi and urged the Maharaja to release all the workers of the Praja Parishad.<sup>3</sup> On November 25, 1945, the Bharatpur Praja Parishad demanded the withdrawal of the practice of 'Begar' and the repeal of Ganga Mandir Act and Jama Masjid Act.<sup>4</sup> It also reiterated its demand

1 The term Brij-Jaya was derived from coupling the names of His Highness—Brijendra and Her Highness—Jaya.

2 File No. CB/BN/13/224-1944-45 Fortnightly Intelligence Reports of Rajputana States Bharatpur—Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner.

3 All India States People's Conference Papers. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library New Delhi.

4 The People's control over these two religious bodies was removed by the State—The Indian Annual Register Vol I January/June 1946 p. 351.

for 'responsible government' in the state and issued an ultimatum that if no satisfactory response was received, it would launch 'Satyagrah' from December 12, 1945<sup>1</sup> The State authorities, thereupon, arrested the prominent leaders of the Parishad The All India States' People's Conference in Udaipur Session in 1946 discussed the issue in detail Manik Lal Varma Chairman of the Reception Committee said, "The States' people are not satisfied with assemblies of the nature of college debating societies They desire the establishment of assemblies, such as would enable them to affect real transfer of power in the hands of the popular ministries in place of the present ministries nominated by the government"<sup>2</sup> He urged the Maharaja of Bharatpur to give two seats to the people's representatives in his ministry at an early date

The third conference of the Bharatpur Praja Parishad was held at Kaman on December 17 and 18, 1946 Prominent leaders like Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Krishna Dutt Paliwal and Maulvi Hafizur Rehman attended it<sup>3</sup> The conference reiterated the demand for the setting up of a 'responsible government' and abolition of the begar system in the State As Government did not respond the Praja Parishad along with Kisan Sabha and the Muslim League started anti begar agitation in the first week of January 1947<sup>4</sup> On January 5, 1947, Viceroy Lord Wavell and Maharaja Sadul Singh of Bikaner who had arrived at Bharatpur Railway Station for duck-shooting in Ghana (lake) were greeted with black flags and hostile slogans<sup>5</sup> The agitation demanded the release of Jatavs employed as bonded labourers for duck-shooting When the police order to disperse was not obeyed a 'Lathi' charge was made in which many persons were injured<sup>6</sup> Consequently, a complete hartal for 17 days was observed in Bharatpur town Thousands of people collected and picketed at the gates of Bharatpur Fort and prevented the State officials to attend the offices

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1 *ibid* p 352

2 The Indian Annual Register Vol 1 January/June 1946, p 353

3 *ibid*

4 *ibid*

5 *ibid*

6 *ibid*

and the court. On January 15, 1947, public meetings were banned for a month and curfew was imposed for a week.<sup>1</sup>

The political workers including Gauri Shanker Mittal, Master Fakir Chand Kalu Ram Vaish, Raj Bahadur and Ali Mohammad were arrested for defying the prohibitory orders. Adityendra and Jugai Kishore Chaturvedi went underground to direct the agitation. When the situation became intense, Jawahar Lal Nehru sent Dwarka Nath Kachru on a fact finding mission on January 16, 1947.

The political conditions during the next few months became very alarming in the State. The Meos of Bharatpur, Alwar and Gurgaon at their meeting in Naugaon demanded the formation of a Mewat State.<sup>2</sup> The All India Jat Mahasabha asked for the formation of a new Jat Province.<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile the Maharaja signed the Instrument of Accession to Indian Union before Independence. The communal disturbances broke out in August which made conditions still worse. Ultimately, on October 3, 1947 His Highness announced that two persons from the public would be appointed as Ministers and a draft constitution for the state administration would be drafted by a body of 11 members representing all parties in the state.<sup>4</sup> The Praja Parishad was not satisfied with these proposals and it continued its agitation for the establishment of full responsible government. Political situation in the state took such a fast turn that the Maharaja was compelled to appoint 4 popular ministers, namely—Adityendra Gopal Yadav, Hari Dutt and Thakur Desh Raj of Bharatpur Praja Parishad, on January 1, 1948.<sup>5</sup> Dr Pattabhi Sitarammaya, Vice President, All India States' People's Conference in a public meeting at Bharatpur commended the work of the Praja Parishad and said, "The days of feudalism are over and those of democracy

1. File No. CB/BN 13/214—Fortnightly Intelligence Report of Rajputana States—Bharatpur Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner

2. File No. C/B/BN/13/214—Fortnightly Intelligence Report of Rajputana States—Bharatpur, Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner

3. *ibid*

4. *ibid*

and people's rule have come In future there will neither be a Jat Raj nor a Rajput Raj but People's Raj '1 Meanwhile, the communal disturbances in the state, failure of the Maharaja to maintain law and order, his indifferent attitude towards national government at New Delhi insult to the national flag by not unfurling it on the Independence Day and his anti-national activities forced the Government of India to take action against him and he was asked to handover the administration to the Government of India<sup>2</sup> It resulted in resignation of Bharatpur State Ministry headed by Rai Bahadur Suraj Mal and S N Sapru took over as administrator on behalf of the Central Government on February 15, 1948<sup>3</sup> Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel convened a meeting of the rulers of Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur and Karauli at New Delhi on February 27, 1948 and he admonished the rulers for their incapacity to check communal riots and their failure to grant responsible government to the people He forced them to surrender their power and the rulers were asked to form one administrative unit, called as the 'Matsya Union'<sup>4</sup> The rulers succumbed before Sardar Patel and the 'Matsya Union' was born on 17th March, 1948<sup>5</sup> which was ultimately merged with Rajasthan on 15th May, 1949<sup>6</sup>

#### DHOLPUR :

It was Swami Shradhanand, a prominent leader of Arya Samaj who started the people's movement for the establishment

1 The Hindustan Times ' March 5 1948

2 Maharaja Brijendra Singh of Bharatpur was charged with these complaints Note of C C Desai Joint Secretary States Ministry Government of India November 28 1947—File No 11 (17) P-47 Bharatpur Affairs Allegations against His Highness Bharatpur 1948 —Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner

3 File No 1-AD/48 1 Bharatpur Affairs —Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner

4 The name Matsya was suggested by K M Munshi on the plea that the region of these States was known as such in the ancient epic of Mahabharata —V P Menon— The Story of the Integration of the Indian States New Delhi 1969 p 242

5 Report on the Administration of Rajasthan 1950-51 Jaipur

6 ibid

of people s government in Dholpur State as early as 1918 The Jat ruler Udaibhanu Singh tri d to crush it not only by arresting the leaders but also by inflicting severe punishments upon them The agitation ended with Swami Shradhanand s death <sup>1</sup> However another attempt was made in 1936 when Dholpur Rajya Praja Mandal was established under the Presidentship of Krishna Dutt Paliwal Moolchand was made its Secretary <sup>2</sup> The State authorities could hardly tolerate the setting up of this political organization and they followed the usual policy of repression by arresting and externing the leaders from the state On July 14 1948 the Dholpur Rajya Praja Mandal in a memorandum to the ruler demanded the recognit on of the Mandal the formation of responsible government in the State release of all social and political workers permission to open the branches o<sup>c</sup> the Mandal in other parts of the state freedom to hold public meeting and observe hartal abolition of professional tax and high customs duty <sup>3</sup> The Government paid no heed to the memorandum

On April 29 1940 a resolution for the establishment of responsible government in Eastern Rajputana States under the aegis of their respective rulers was adopted by the Eastern Rajputana States Conference held at Bhandar village <sup>4</sup> But the Government continued its repressive policy and enforced The Dholpur Government Servants Conduct Rules 1941 banning its servants Jagir dhars Muafidars and State Grantees to join such hostile organizations Yet the Dholpur Praja Mandal continued its agitation and on November 12 1946 held its second session at Tasimo village The state police disturbed the gathering with the help of hired goondas to stage a tumult and bloody riot in the pandal They did not allow the Praja Mandal leaders to hoist the r flag and looted the innocent people and insulted womenfolk

On December 23 1946 in its meeting the Praja Mandal decried the repressive policy of the State Government and raised

1 Ganga Prasad Kamthan Dholpur Ka Rajnitik Itihas (1858 1948) Dholpur

2 ib d p 8

3 File No C 4/45 Dholpur Rajasthan State Archives B kaner

4 The Hindustan Times May 3 1940

raised a volunteer corps to check such hooliganism<sup>1</sup> When the editors of Sainik, Amrit Bazar Patrika and Hindustan tried to visit the village and assess the atrocities, they were ordered to quit the state in March 1947<sup>2</sup> Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Vice-President of All India States' People's Conference, in his letter dated 30th August, 1947 asked the Maharaja to inquire into the looting and arson at Tasimo and also deputed Hira Lal Shastri and Gokul Bhai Bhatt to find out facts of the case and report back to him<sup>3</sup>

Though Dholpur acceded to Indian Union and Independence dawned upon the country, yet responsible government was not formed in the state So in November 1947 the Dholpur Rajya Praja Mandal asked to hold its conference at Dholpur but it was denied by the District Magistrate who replied as 'In view of the prevailing inflammatory communal situation an emergency has arisen, wherein if the meeting is held, it would endanger the peace and tranquility of this place and therefore, I direct you to take note not to hold any conference whatsoever in Dholpur'<sup>4</sup>

The District Magistrate Satgur Prasad even banned all public meetings and processions in Dholpur for a period of one month on November 11, 1947 But the enthusiast leaders of the Dholpur Rajya Praja Mandal violated these prohibitory orders and convened a conference on November 17 and 18, 1947 at Dholpur Shanker Rao Deo, General Secretary of the All India Congress, inaugurated it The conference passed resolutions for the establishment of responsible government elimination of corruption and black marketing and to find out ways and means to promote economic, social and educational progress of the people of Dholpur The State police played its usual role of distur

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1 Praja Mandal File of Dholpur State page-42 Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner

2 Ibid

3 Ibid

4 Letter No 314 of November 11 1947 File No 16 of 1947-48 Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner

bing the conference with hired goondas and looted the shops<sup>1</sup> and houses of those sympathising with Praja Mandal activities

However, the mounting pressure of the Praja Mandal and people's enthusiasm for the same compelled Maharaja Udaibhan Singh to negotiate and he agreed to make enquiries into the police atrocities at Tasimo and Basai villages and also to establish responsible government in Dholpur. He agreed to announce the scheme of constitutional reforms at his birthday on March 4, 1948.<sup>2</sup> In the meanwhile he was called at Delhi on 27th February, 1948,<sup>3</sup> and was admonished for his inaction and mismanagement. Sardar Patel forced him to abandon his powers and to sign the papers for the formation of the 'Matsya Union'. Subsequently, the 'Matsya Union' was merged into Rajasthan on 15th May, 1949.<sup>4</sup>

#### KARAULI .

The political agitation in the State of Karauli started in 1938 with the establishment of Karauli Praja Mandal. Prominent leaders were Trilok Chand Mathur,<sup>5</sup> Chiranjilal Sharma, Kalyan Das Gupta, Krishna Prasad, Purnan Singh, Ram Gopal and Man Singh. Its early aim was to ameliorate the social, economic and political conditions of the people. But, the authoritarian government of its ruler, Bhimpal, could not tolerate it and followed the policy of repression. State employees sympathizing with the Praja Mandal were harassed and severely punished. The Government advocate, Kalyan Das Gupta, who had resigned the job and joined it was persecuted and arrested under Seditious Act. He was also

- 1 Jwala Prasad proprietor M/s Jwala Prasad Omprakash Dholpur whose shop was looted and three sons beaten requested Sardar Patel States Minister Government of India vide his letter dated November 17 1947, to intervene in the affairs of the State. He also gave notice to the Dholpur Maharaja for payment of compensation to him within three months for his loss of Rs 19 883/2/6 Paise—Dholpur Praja Mandal File No 17 of 1947-48—Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner
2. Praja Mandal File of Dholpur State : Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner
- 3 V P Menon : op cit p 242
- 4 Report on Administration of Rajasthan 1950-51 Jaipur p. 2
- 5 He was among those first persons who have attended the first session of All India States People's Conference in Bombay on 17 and 18 December 1927

debarred from practising in any court of the State<sup>1</sup> For active participation of Bhanwar Lal in the Karauli Rajya Mandal, the jagir granted to his father was withdrawn by the State<sup>2</sup> Thakur Puran Singh, Jailor of Karauli, was dismissed from service for his sympathies with the Praja Mandal<sup>3</sup> All State officials, Muafidars and Grantees were prohibited from taking part in or subscribing in aid to any agitation in the State But these stern measures failed to curb the political awakening among the people as the national wave had encircled the entire Rajasthan by the year 1938

The Movement was in Karauli never directed against the ruler since its establishment and no demand for the establishment of responsible government had been made It merely wanted to redress the local grievances In April 1939, the Karauli Rajya Praja Mandal in its session at Karauli reiterated its demands which included (a) a commission of 5 members be appointed to enquire into the affairs of administration Of these five members three should be elected representatives of the people, (b) abolition of land revenue on barren land (c) setting up of co-operative societies for giving loans to agriculturists (d) abolition of the begar practice in the state, (e) all the members of the Karauli Municipal Committee should be elected representative of the people (f) local-self institutions be established<sup>4</sup> But, the state authorities paid no heed to any of these demands

In November 1946, the political workers of the neighbouring states convened a conference at Karauli and for the first time the demand for the formation of responsible government in the state was made<sup>5</sup> On December 29 1946, Puran Singh, President of the Karauli Rajya Praja Mandal in a public meeting

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1 Sumnesh Joshi Rajasthan Main Swatantrata Sangram Ke Sainani Jaipur p 73 and p 525

2 ibid p 526

3 op cit p 167

4 Letter from Trilok Chand Mathur Dated April 28 1939 to Haribhau Upadhyaya Shodhak—Vol 4 (c), Serial No 12 1975 Bhusawar pp 597-598

5 File No CB/BN/13/214 Fortnightly Intelligence Report of Rajputana States Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner



reiterated the demand for responsible government. Processions and public meetings condemning the repressive administration, rationing system and the repressive laws were organized. In July 1947, a committee on constitutional reforms consisting of 11 nominated members was constituted. The Karauli Rajya Praja Mandal demanded the inclusion of their three people's representatives but the state authorities did not relent.

However, the reports of the high handed action of the ruler were reaching New Delhi. The ruler was called there on 27th February 1948<sup>1</sup> and was forced to relinquish power and agree to the formation of one single administrative unit consisting of the states of Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur and Karauli to be known as Matsya Union, which was finally merged in Rajasthan on 15th May 1949.<sup>2</sup>

#### JAIPUR

Like other states in Rajasthan, the discontentment of the people against the ruler was prevailing in Jaipur State also. A revolt broke out in Jaipur City.<sup>3</sup> Thousands of people gathered in the streets on September 1, 1927 and demonstrated against the maladministration and the imposition of new taxes. The police opened fire resulting in the death of one person and serious injury to 37 others.<sup>4</sup> The situation further worsened and the British Resident had to deploy armed force to meet with the situation. Next day a public meeting was held at which 13 resolutions were passed condemning the police excesses, demanding an impartial enquiry and stressing upon the need of establishing a better government.<sup>5</sup> A complete hartal was observed for five days which could be called off only when the Resident intervened and assured that he would himself look into the matter.<sup>6</sup> In spite of the assurance, no tangible results were discernible and

1 V. P. Menon, *op cit*, p. 242.

2 Report on Administration of Rajasthan, 1950-51, Jaipur.

3 Letter No. 24, Confidential, Dated 7th September 1927 from Agent to the Governor General in Rajputana to the Political Secretary, Government of India.—File No. 613 of 1927, National Archives of India, New Delhi.

4 *Ibid*.

5 *Ibid*.

6 *Ibid*.

disturbances again broke out when on 5th April, 1931, 'Moti Lal Day'<sup>1</sup> was celebrated in Jaipur. These celebrations prompted the state authorities to resort to the policy of suppression and a number of participants which included Gulab Chand Chowdhary, Kundan Lal and Kishore Singh, the workers of Khadi-Bhandar, were arrested<sup>2</sup> and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment<sup>3</sup>. Looking at the gravity of the situation and relentless behaviour of the autocratic ruler and the dis-organized movement a few dedicated workers under the leadership of Kapur Chand Patni thought it wise to turn the people's movement from the political to the socio-economic level. With this end in view, 'Jaipur Praja Mandal' was established in the same year<sup>4</sup> which limited its activities to the demand of social reforms and promotion of 'Khadi'<sup>5</sup>. This yielded results and the use of 'Khadi' became popular in the State<sup>6</sup>. Upto the year 1938, the Jaipur Praja Mandal neither indulged in political activities nor adopted a formal constitution for itself<sup>7</sup>. The year 1938 turned out to be an eventful year when on the one hand the Indian National Congress pledged full support to the All India States' People's Conference,<sup>8</sup> and, on the other, the Jaipur Praja Mandal started agitation for constitutional and agrarian reforms in the State. The Kisan-Sabha had already merged into Praja Mandal in the year 1937<sup>9</sup> during the Presidency of Chiranjilal Mishra. In 1938 Jamna Lal Bajaj took over the Presidenship of Praja Mandal and Hira

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1 It was to demand the release of Bhil leader Moti Lal Tejawat from Udaipur jail

2 Tyag Bhumi May 1 1931

3 ibid May 8 1931

4. Sunnesh Joshi - Rajasthan Main Swatantrata Sangram ke Samanai 'Jaipur 1976 p. 253

5 ibid

6 ibid

7 ibid

8 Congress Resolution at Haripura Session 1938

9 Sunnesh Joshi op cit p 549 Kisan Sabha leaders Harlal Singh and Netram Singh met Hiralal Shastri and they agreed to amalgamate the two organization into one

Lal Shastri became its Secretary <sup>1</sup> It was decided to hold regular annual sessions <sup>2</sup> The object of the Praja Mandal was defined as, 'to establish responsible government to secure elementary right of citizenship for the people and to bring about an all round improvement of Jaipur State' <sup>3</sup> But the Praja Mandal had to commence a fight for its existence, for the administration did not allow it to function The Jaipur Public Societies Regulation <sup>4</sup> enacted by the government, made it a criminal offence for anyone to be a member of any association not registered with and recognized by the authorities <sup>5</sup> The application of the Praja Mandal for such recognition was turned down on the ground that it did not fulfil the conditions laid down in the law for registration According to this regulation, the membership of a registered association should be confined to the state subjects living within its territories and no office bearer of the association should be an office bearer of any other political organization outside the state <sup>6</sup> The State government also imposed a ban on Jamna Lal Bajaj's entry into the state Jamna Lal Bajaj in utter disregard of the ban imposed on his entry, entered the state and was arrested along with other leaders The Praja Mandal protested against this decision and launched a 'satyagraha' movement and demanded that a legislative assembly should be established right to assemble without the pre permission of the state be accepted the freedom of Press be granted an employment exchange for the local people be established, 'Lag-baj' be declared illegal, and

1 Sumnesh Joshi 'op cit' p. 550 The Secretary of Praja Mandal was termed as Prime Minister which continued upto the year 1948 when it finally merged with Indian National Congress

2 Sumnesh Joshi 'op cit' p. 550 From 1938 to 1948 its regular annual sessions were held except in the year 1939 when Jaipur Praja Mandal launched Satyagraha Movement for its recognition by the State Government

3 The Hindustan Times' 9th May, 1938 Presidential speech by Jamnalal Bajaj delivered at the first annual session of Praja Mandal held at Jaipur on May 8, 1938

4 It was enacted in 1938

5 Clause 2 Jaipur Public Societies Regulation 1938

6 ibid

the land revenue be written off in the famine affected areas <sup>1</sup> Mahatma Gandhi also protested through the press and warned that 'if the state authorities do not retract and Seth Jamna Lal Bajaj and his co-workers are not freed from Jail the Indian National Congress will have no alternative but to make Jaipur an all India issue <sup>2</sup> As a result of Gandhi's statement and the momentum that Civil Disobedience Movement had gathered the ruler in spite of the hard line taken by Prime-Minister Sir Beauchamp<sup>3</sup> not only released Jamna Lal Bajaj but also agreed to negotiate with the leaders of the Praja Mandal on the issue of its recognition <sup>4</sup> After protracted discussions it was registered under Public Societies Act in March 1940 <sup>5</sup> According to the compromise the Praja Mandal was free to enrol Jaipur subjects living outside the state as its members Thus, the people got the right to free association and of agitation for the grant of responsible government which opened a new chapter in the political history of Jaipur State <sup>6</sup>

In January 1940 the Praja Mandal issued a leaflet condemning the state policy of repression and reiterating its demand for establishment of responsible government It provoked the new Prime Minister, Raja Gyan Nath who not only threatened the Praja Mandal office bearers with dire consequence<sup>7</sup> but also ordered the police to raid the Praja Mandal office and capture the seditious papers <sup>8</sup> Somehow, calm was restored again and

1 Ram Krishna Bajaj 'Patra Vyavhar' New Delhi Letter Dated 20th October 1938 from Hiralal Shashtri to Jamna Lal Bajaj

2 The Hindustan Times 26th January 1939

3 He adopted a hard line and said the State can not accept the right of the Praja Mandal or any other body to represent the people in the presentation of their grievances the time has not come for this in Indian States —Hindustan Times 27th January 1939—Ultimately Beauchamp was relieved from the Prime Ministership and Raja Gyan Nath became the new Prime Minister

4 Bhagwan Das Kela 'Deshi Rajyon Ki Jan Jagriti' p 256

5 The Times of India April 13, 1940

6 The Hindustan Times (editorial) April 17 1940

7 Ram Krishna Bajaj 'Patra Vyavhar' Letter No 125 dated 8th January 1940 from Kapur Chand Patni to Jamna Lal Bajaj

8 ibid —Letter Dated 9th February 1940 from Chiranj Lal Agrawal to Jamna Lal Bajaj

the Praja Mandal could renew its registration on 2nd April 1940<sup>1</sup> without much difficulty. The Praja Mandal soon started organising meetings and processions. In its session held on May 25, 1940 at Jaipur, Jamna Lal Bajaj said

‘We want substance and not mere shadow. The substance of responsible government is that political power should not be in the hands of an individual because the power is of the people.’<sup>2</sup>

When the work of Praja Mandal was progressing satisfactorily, there grew serious differences among the members of the executive committee.<sup>3</sup> Many workers left the Praja Mandal to form a new party known as—‘Praja Mandal Progressive Party’ under the stewardship of Chiranjilal Agrawal.<sup>4</sup> These mutual differences weakened the movement temporarily but with Hira Lal Shastri assuming the Presidentship the Praja Mandal stood on strong footing and regained its lost prestige at its third annual conference in November 1941.<sup>5</sup>

As a result of the famous ‘Quit India Resolution’ adopted by the Congress working Committee<sup>6</sup> Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders were arrested at Bombay on 9th May, 1942. The arrest of the national leaders stirred India and it had its impact on the people of Indian states also. A leaderless movement spread all over India and it had its impact upon Jaipur State as well. The anti-British demonstration started in Jaipur<sup>7</sup> also but the ruler of Jaipur this time was quick on his heels and

1 *ibid*—Letter Dated 12th May 1940 from Jamna Lal Bajaj to Ghanshyam Das Birla

2 *The Hindustan Times* ‘May 26 1940

3 Fortnightly Intelligence Report for Rajputana States for the second half of September 1941—Rajasthan State Archives Bikaner

4 *ibid*

5 Bhagwan Das Keja, *Deshi Rajya Shashan* p 523

6 The Committee resolved to sanction for the vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence the starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale so that the country might utilize all the non-violent strength it has gathered during the last twenty-two years of peaceful struggle—*The Evolution of India and Pak-Select Documents* B N Pandey (ed.) Macmillan 1962 p 34

7 Samnesh Joshi *op cit* p 293.

he immediately started negotiations with the Praja Mandal headed by Hira Lal Shastri. The ruler wanted that this movement should not be directed against him and he was successful in winning Hira Lal Shastri over his side because of the old acquaintance<sup>1</sup>. The compromise made between Sawai Man Singh II of Jaipur and Hira Lal Shastri was based upon the following points.

(i) The Jaipur State Government would not interfere in the anti-British and anti-war campaign conducted by the Praja Mandal. The processions and 'Prabhat-Pheris' and unfurling of the congress flag (regarded as national flag) would not be banned by the Government.

(ii) The Jaipur State would, in future give no assistance to the British in its war efforts, either in the form of money or men.

(iii) Any person actively engaged in the movement in British India would be free to enter Jaipur State. The Praja Mandal would give all help to such persons and the State Government would not arrest them.

(iv) The ruler of Jaipur would make efforts in the direction of granting responsible government to the people.

(v) The Praja Mandal would not take any direct action against the Jaipur ruler<sup>2</sup>.

Many of Hira Lal Shastri's associates such as, Master Ram Kishor Joshi, B. S. Deshpande, Om Dutt Shastri, Ladu Ram Sharma and Hans D. Roy not only opposed this compromise but also dissociated themselves from the Praja Mandal and formed their own organization known as 'Azad Morcha'<sup>3</sup> to continue the struggle against the ruler of the State.

Meanwhile Sawai Man Singh appointed in October 1942 a special committee<sup>4</sup> headed by R. S. Hirannaiya, a retired officer

1 For a brief period Hiralal Shastri has taught Mor Mukut Singh prior to his adoption as Jaipur prince—A Treasury of Tributes to the late His Highness Saramad I Rajah I-Hindistan Raj Rajendra Maharaja Dhiraj, Lieutenant General Sir Sawai Man Singhji Bahadur II G. C. I. E. G. C. S. I. LL. D. Maharaja of Jaipur.—Published by M. G. D. School Jaipur 1971.

2 Sumnesh Joshi op cit p 293

3 Jugal Kishore Chaturvedi: '1942 Ki Kranti Main Rajasthan Ka Yogdan'

4. 'The Jaipur Gazettee (Extra ordinary), October 26 1942

from Mysore and consisting of 2 official and 12 non-official members<sup>1</sup> to go into the question of Constitutional Reforms in the state. The Committee required to formulate comprehensive proposals in order to secure the steady and harmonious constitutional progress of the state giving due regard to the past history of the state. The Committee's terms of reference included the composition and powers of any representative bodies that might be proposed, their President and other functionaries, privileges of members and remedies in case of breach of privileges, safe-guards for minorities, special interests and emergencies, and the nature and extent of the franchise together with the representation that might be given to special interest and minorities<sup>2</sup>. The Committee completed its work in six months and produced a first rate document in the annals of Jaipur<sup>3</sup>.

The Committee recommended the establishment of bicameral system. The Legislative Council or the Upper House was to consist of 51 members of whom 37 were to be elected and 14 nominated. Out of the elected seats, 25 were allotted for territorial constituencies: 8 seats to Sardars or Jagirdars and 4 seats for special Constituencies namely, trade and industry, women and labour<sup>4</sup>. The Lower House or the Representative Assembly was to consist of 125 members of whom 89 were to be elected by territorial constituencies: 25 by Jagirdars and 2 each by the special constituencies of trade industry, women and labour<sup>5</sup>. The remaining 5 seats were to be filled by nomination. The Muslims were given the separate representation in both Houses. In the Legislative Council 4 seats out of 25 general seats and in the Representative Assembly 11 seats out of 89 were kept reserved for the Muslim community<sup>6</sup>. The elections to the Representative Assembly were to be held on a joint electorate basis<sup>7</sup>. The Representative Asse-

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1 *ibid*

2 'The Tribune,' November 14, 1942

3 'Jaipur News-Letter' Vol I April 2, 1943

4 'Jaipur News Letter' Vol III October 7, 1944

5 *ibid*

6 *ibid*

7 *ibid*

mbly was designed to make laws, discuss and vote on the budget and the government on matters of public interest was to give its due help

However, it took two years for the Jaipur State to implement the Constitutional Reforms suggested by the Committee and in the meanwhile it was successful in stopping the hue and cry from the Praja Mandal. There is no denying the fact that the ruler proved to be clever and efficient in political manoeuvrings<sup>1</sup>. In the year 1945, a bicameral legislature was established<sup>2</sup> but it was to be a body composed of Maharaja's henchmen. Strange is the fact that in spite of the inadequate arrangement, the Praja Mandal decided to participate in the election and could capture 3 seats in the Legislative Council and 27 seats out of 31 in Representative Assembly<sup>3</sup>. The victory of the Praja Mandal was an evidence of the public support to it<sup>4</sup>. It is evident, however, that whereas the ruler of Jaipur State could keep a check on the Praja Mandal's anti-state activities, the Praja Mandal could hardly achieve anything remarkable in the bargain.

The next two years (1945-1947) were the years of hectic activities at New Delhi and the ruler and the Praja Mandal of Jaipur State both proved to be ultimately silent spectators to the great political drama being enacted there. When finally, on June 3, 1947, the plan of transfer of power was declared by Lord Mountbatten<sup>5</sup> the British Paramountcy lapsed and the country was partitioned into two separate unions of India and Pakistan. The turn of circumstances forced the ruler of Jaipur, like his other counterparts in different Indian States, to accede to Indian Union after the historic meeting of the Chamber of Princes on 25th July, 1947<sup>6</sup>. The question of establishment of responsible govern-

1 It was popularly alleged that a secret bargain resulted, involving the ruling of Banarsihali as Hira Lal Shastri's educational mission.

2 K. S. Saxena - *The Political Movements and Activities of the Praja Mandal*, Delhi 1971 p. 278.

3. *ibid.* p. 239.

4. *ibid.* p. 239.

5. *Indian Annual Register (1947)* Vol. 1, Col. 12 pp. 143-145.

6. Banarsihali: "Time only to Look Forward" - *Prakash* 12.7.47, London 1947 pp. 51-56.



ment' was put into the shelf by the ruler of Jaipur and only one person could be inducted in the Cabinet on 15th May, 1946 <sup>1</sup>. The Cabinet was further expanded on March 27, 1948 when Hira Lal Shastri assumed the post of Chief Secretary<sup>2</sup> and Devi Shanker Tiwari, Daulat Mal Bhandari and Tika Ram Paliwal of the Praja Mandal were also included in the Cabinet which was headed by Dewan, Sir V T Krishnamachari. It was only after the merger of Jaipur State in the Union of Rajasthan on March 30, 1949 that a real 'responsible government' could be set up <sup>3</sup>.

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1 Devi Shanker Tiwari from Praja Mandal was included in the Cabinet and later on Daulat Mal Bhandari joined instead of him — Sunnesh Joshi, *Rajasthan mein Swatantrata Sangram Ke Saman*, Jaipur 1973 p. 295

2 Chief Minister was called as Chief Secretary

3 Report on the Administration of Rajasthan 1950-15f Jaipur.

## AN ASSESSMENT

The wave of nationalism in India stirred the conscience of the people in the States. They became alive to their socio-economic ills and political problems. The enlightened among them approached the leaders of the Indian National Congress to include the problem of Indian States also in their programme. But the Olympian indifference of the congress towards the Indian States disheartened them. They again harped on the hope in 1920 when Mahatma Gandhi took over the leadership of the congress. But their hopes were dupes and Gandhi eluded them after giving the verdict that time was not yet ripe to involve the congress in the affairs of the Indian States. The establishment of the Chamber of Princes in the year 1921 further changed the situation to their disadvantage. They had now no alternative left than to form their own independent organization in 1927 which flourished with the name of All India States People's Conference.

### THE BRITISH ATTITUDE

The British attitude towards the All India States' People's Conference was one of suspicion and hostility. They never desired such an organization to grow and develop. But as the All India States People's Conference fell under the jurisdiction of the Indian Princes, they could not take any direct action against them. However, they instigated the Indian princes against it. The Political Department used the Residents and the Political Agents to

exercise influence upon the princes to be ruthless and repressive towards the Praja Mandal and Lok Parishads formed under the auspices of All India States' People's Conference

The British Government completely ignored the All India States' People's Conference and in spite of its repeated memorandums, its representatives were never invited to any negotiation table. Whenever the question of representation of the States came, they called the rulers and not the leaders of the All India States' People's Conference, who were never recognised as spokesmen of the people which they really were.

They were neither allowed to appear before the Butler Committee nor invited to any of the Round Table Conferences held at London. Their remonstrances were never taken seriously rather they were considered as an obstacle to the subtle British designs to keep the imperialism intact in India through the loyal Indian princes.

The Britishers obviously could never tolerate any challenge from any organisation to their loyal and dependable allies—the Princes. And, therefore, they did not allow the All India States People's Conference representatives to present their case either before Sir Stafford Cripps or the Cabinet Mission, when they visited India in 1942 and 1946 respectively. The Cabinet Mission Plan envisaged a Constituent Assembly to draft a constitution for India and admitted into it representatives from the States' people also, but it was specifically laid down that the representatives of the people would go to the Constituent Assembly only through the Indian princes.

### THE CONGRESS VIEW

In spite of these formidable difficulties the All India States People's Conference worked hard for its cause and achieved remarkable results. During its short span of life of two decades, it functioned as a loosely knit central body having supervisory control over its affiliated branches spread all over the Indian States. The enthusiasm of the leaders and the support of the people which they enjoyed kept it not only alive but also enabled it to take the form of a mass movement in states on the congress pattern. Had the National Congress identified itself with the All

## An Assessment

India States' People's Conference earlier than it did, the demand for Pakistan which sprang up in the thirties of the present century would have lost much of its force and the Britishers might have been forced to revise their subtle policy of 'divide and rule'. And also the rulers of the Indian States would not have been as ruthless in their attitude towards the people as they proved to be in later years. The Congress would have certainly emerged much stronger in their negotiations with the British Government. One cannot but marvel to see that in refusing millions of States' people to enter the Congress when they were so willing in 1920 Gandhi committed a mistake.

### INDIFFERENCE OF THE RULERS

The reaction of the rulers of the States towards the All India States' People's Conference activities and organization of Praja Mandals and Lok Parishads was not only hostile but also repulsive to the extent of their total extinction. Instead of appreciating the demands of the All India States' People's Conference, the rulers created many obstacles and tried to suppress it with strong police action.

However, the All India States' People's Conference from its very inception never desired to liquidate the rulers rather it emphatically laid stress both in its constitution and in various resolutions it passed from time to time to maintain the monarchy and individuality of the Indian States.

When Gandhi gave the clarion call to the princes to act as trustees and not as owners of the States, he meant sincerity of purpose. Like the Capitalists to whom he gave a similar call, he never wanted the annihilation of the princely classes in India. He wanted to mend them and not to end them. This was the prime factor that guided Gandhi not to involve the Indian National Congress in the affairs of the States. But the princes under the shield of the political department never responded to his call rather they ignored him. Gradually, the Indian rulers emerged as 'show boys' of British Imperialism. Gandhi gave them sufficient time. Right up to 1938 he continued to reiterate his sincere stand to the great discomfiture of All India States' People's Con-

ference In rejecting Gandhi's plea the princes became the chief actors in the enactment of the great drama that the British Imperialists and the Indian communalists were playing Under the inspiration of their masters the princes could dare demand a 'STATISTAN' they ingloriously kept themselves away from the Indian main stream and indirectly helped the Indian Muslim League to create barricades in the way of total independence of the country When under the forced political circumstances the British government came forward, with the scheme of federation, in 1935 Act, the rejection of the scheme by the princes was the most injudicious act from their own point of view as well as from that of eight crores of people living in Indian States Strange indeed is the fact that under the fire of the misguided missiles used by these rulers, the fate of such a large population remained hanging whereas seven crores of people belonging to the minority community had their way in cutting India into two pieces

The Indian princes not only remained indifferent to the aspirations of their people but also made frantic efforts to bow them down, hardly realising the fact that revolution has never been crushed by reaction' Even the political department pressed them hard to join the federation and also to grant constitutional reforms to the people in their respective states But under the wrongful advice of their sycophants—the Diwans, the Jagirdars and others, they did not pay appropriate attention to the advice of their mentor—the Political Department Sir Conrad Corfield, the political adviser to the Viceroy who was himself an Imperialist through and through and who tried his best to safeguard their interests upto the last moment also had to observe 'Had they (the Rulers of the States) listened to the Crown's advice to constitutionalise their authority to limit their private expenditure and to group themselves into viable units, they could have negotiated from their strength' <sup>1</sup> It is an irony of fate that the princes did little to realise that the All India States People's Conference was a force to reckon with They could not perceive the great impact that it had made upon the general masses of the states The delay and hesitancy in granting constitutional governments to the people proved disastrous for their own existence

<sup>1</sup> Cf Leonard Mosley 'The Last Days of the British Raj' London 1964 p 175

Even the last minute efforts of Corfield and the gift of lapse of British paramountcy<sup>1</sup> that he brought in his bag from London in May 1947 could not save them. The reaction of the national leaders specially Nehru and Patel to this clause (lapse of British paramountcy) in the Indian Independence Act 1947 was so sharp that Corfield could not withstand it and all attempts on his part to Balkanize the Indian Peninsula proved futile before the combination of Menon's agile brain, Patel's driving personality and the infectitious charm and inborn tact of Lord Mountbatten.

The decision by the Government of India to form a separate ministry of States was a historic event. It saved the country from further divisions. The Instrument of Accession prepared by Menon and Patel and approved by Mountbatten was the die cast which Indian princes had no strength to repel. In the hurriedly convened meeting of the Chamber of Princes on 25th July 1947, the performance of Lord Mountbatten was excellent. The native princes became naive before the charmer.

Allen Campbell Johnson rightly observes : "He used every weapon in his armoury of persuasion making it clear at the outset that in the proposed Instrument of Accession which V. P. Menon had devised, the princes were being provided with a political offer from the Congress which was not likely to be repeated. He reminded them that after the 15th of August, he would no longer be in a position to mediate on their behalf as Crown Representative and warned those Princes who were hoping to build up their own stores of arms that the weapons they would get in any case be obsolete"<sup>1</sup>. And soon after the fall started and ruler after ruler began to sign the Instrument of Accession. By August 15th, 1947 all the rulers leaving those of Junagarh, Hyderabad and Kashmir had signed the Instrument of Accession and joined the Indian Union.

But still the indolent princes under the advice of their henchmen failed to understand as to what way the wind was blowing. Taking the Instrument of Accession as the last and final word of the settlement their feeling was that except in the foreign affairs, defence and communication they were independent to play with

1 Allen Campbell Johnson : "Mission with Mountbatten."

the destiny of crores of people who were living in their states. They continued with the repressive policy and did not form full-fledged democratic governments in their respective states. Some of them had the audacity even not to unfurl the National Flag on the Independence Day. They were still considering the All India States' People's Conference and the Praja Mandals as 'mouse in trap,' but soon the mouse turned into a tiger. The cage was broken and the master of the cage found himself in doldrums.

### TOWARDS CONSOLIDATION :

The national government formed after Independence adopted a policy of reconciliation towards the Indian Princes as their prime object then was to put a stop to any further division of the Indian Union. They had already offered honourable terms to Indian princes and they were harping on the hope that Indian princes would rise to the occasion and grant responsible governments in their respective states, soon after the transfer of power. But their hopes were belied, and when they did not do so the Indian Government became stern and stiff in their attitude towards them. The work that the Praja Mandals did in the states in this respect was commendable. After freedom, when Sardar Patel started tackling the problems of the states, the help offered by the All India States' People's Conference came handy whenever the officers of the Ministry of States came up against difficulties, particularly when they were torn between their commitments to the princes and their duty to their subjects and the nation at large. The very move of grouping the States into unions was rendered possible by the dependable support of the Praja Mandals.

Yet the fact cannot be denied that the process of political consolidation and administrative unification after Independence was a development largely independent of the efforts of the All India States' People's Conference. Though the All India States' People's Conference lent full support and co-operation to the congress leadership in the work of territorial consolidation, yet it would be an exaggeration to completely link this development with either the aspirations of the states' people or the demand of the All India States' People's conference which was limited only to the establishment of 'responsible governments in the

states In fact, it was the outcome of the larger development in India and the post war world situation at large It must therefore, be acknowledged that the solution of the states problems as it emerged after Independence was largely the outcome of the lucky and fortuitous combination of circumstances and that it came like a corollary to the conferment of freedom on India on the voluntary withdrawal of the British The recognition of this fact however does not detract from the effective and wise leadership of All India States People's Conference It does not either deprive the states people of the credit due to them for the happenings that preceded and followed the Indian Independence in 1947 It is rightly observed The great task of national consolidation which would ever count as Sardar Patel's outstanding achievement could have been hardly accomplished but for the full support of the All India States People's Conference and the unflinching co-operation of its leaders <sup>1</sup>

### ACHIEVEMENTS IN RAJASTHAN

In the States of Rajasthan the local units of All India States People's Conference were named as Praja Mandal or Lok Parishad which were active during the period from 1931-1947 When in 1938 the Indian National Congress identified its aims and aspirations with the people living in the states these organizations became all the more active and branches were established in almost all the States of Rajasthan At times these local units could not adopt a formal constitution and hold regular sessions in the teeth of vehement opposition from the ruling princes but they could successfully arouse the essential consciousness among the people for the amelioration of the prevalent socio-political ills

#### Political consciousness \*

The people of Rajasthan living in traditional society with total allegiance to the rulers whom they considered as Annadata and revered like God were suffering many hardships ungrudgingly

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1 R L Hand History of the Freedom Struggle in Princely States New Delhi 1968 p 297



for generations, at the hands of the rigid feudal and tyrannical social system. Besides the ruler, there were Jagirdars, mostly related to the ruling family who too enjoyed absolute control over the people in the Jagir. The people, mostly cultivators and living in the villages, resigned themselves to their suffering lot. To bring any change in their customary thinking and living and to bring the desired economic change in the life of the people was indeed an uphill task. The leaders of these various units took up the challenge boldly and tried to infuse the spirit of self-consciousness and civil liberties by organizing lectures, holding public meetings and circulating patriotic literature. They were subjected to severe atrocities at the hands of the administration. The 'Dewan' being a British or Indian civilian invariably resorted to enforcement of repressive measures. In the moments of actual crisis in the states, the leaders of the All India States' People's Conference came out openly to bear the brunt of the ruler's wrath. Wherever a state government in Rajasthan committed atrocities on its people, provoking them to resort to 'satyagrah', the State People's Conference was always ready to become the spearhead of resistance. They willingly faced all hazards and infused courage in the hearts of the local people. Its leaders were arrested and clamped in medieval prisons but they suffered all this to keep the struggle going and to turn every isolated happening into an All India Question. They continued their work incessantly and went on infusing the spirit of patriotism among the people. Some of the local leaders in Rajasthan composed and sang songs<sup>1</sup> depicting the sufferings of the people and attracted the public attention. They used religious congregations at Pushkar in Ajmer and Matrikundiya in Chittor as the most suitable places to arouse public consciousness. The authorities were dismayed and the message was carried on successfully to the masses and the desired results were achieved.

This consciousness led to social and agrarian reforms in Rajasthan states and a positive atmosphere was created for future changes in the constitutional set up.

## Social and Agrarian Reforms :

The various Praja Mandals sincerely devoted themselves to bring about social transformation. In the backward States of Rajasthan people could be educated with great difficulties in the eradication of social evils like untouchability, Parda, child marriage and infanticide. Leaders of the Praja Mandal not only denounced these practices but also induced the people to dissuade from adopting such disastrous social evils. It was an uphill task that the All India States People's Conference could succeed in generating a general awakening among the people who could in course of time become more socially enlightened. The Rajasthan Government is making sincere efforts in this direction but still much remains to be done.

In the realm of education the work done by the Praja Mandals is commendable. The leaders of the Praja Mandals opened many teaching institutions and induced people to learn letters. These schools became nurseries for the imparting of national ideas and training in social service. Banasthali became the training centre for socio-political workers who gathered there from all parts of Rajasthan. Later on, new experiments were made to train young minds in self-discipline and self-education. Today Banasthali institution is one of the foremost educational institutions of India which imparts constructive education with stress on character building.

Because of their keen interest in education, prominent leaders, like—Jai Narain Vyas, Hira Lal Shastri, Gokul Bhai Bhatt and Gokul Lal Asawa—were popularly known as 'Masterji'. The other political leaders were given the title of Master before their name such—Master Bhola Nath and 'Master' Adityendra.

The leaders of the All India States' People's Conference in Rajasthan wholeheartedly devoted themselves to Gandhi's constructive programme. To them as in other parts of the country, Gandhi was more than a political leader. He was a great moral force and people in Rajasthan States regarded him as an apostle of truth and non-violence. As such the movement launched by the All India States' People's Conference not only accepted the Gandhian political programme but also propagated the Swadeshi

movement. People were induced to shun the foreign goods and take to 'Khadi'. In almost all the States of Rajasthan, 'Khadi Bhandars' were opened. The efficacy of the use of 'Khadi' as an instrument to attain their goal was emphasised and 'charkha' became popular among the people. Exhibitions of 'Khadi' products at their conference were organized and 'Khadi' became popular throughout Rajasthan.

The States in Rajasthan were economically very backward. They had rural based economy as such the peasantry class which formed the bulk of the population was subjected to all sorts of economic hardships by not only rulers but also by Jagirdars and Thikanedars. In addition to the land revenue, they had to pay numerous obnoxious taxes called 'Lag Bag', with the result that the majority of the people in the states always remained below the poverty line. In addition to these taxes the bonded labour was one of the most cruel aspects of the economic hardships. The Praja Mandal workers put their heart and soul in eradicating these economic evils. They not only created public opinion against these mal-practices but also staged large demonstrations, sometimes subjecting themselves to blows and imprisonment. However, it is redeeming to note that their efforts were partially successful and they could obtain withdrawal of the newly imposed taxes, obnoxious, 'Lag-bag', and partially prohibiting 'Begar' in Bijolia, Begun, Bundi and Sirohi. Relief in revenue collection at the times of natural calamities, such as—famine could also be secured.

### **Attempts at Political Reforms .**

But, the real task before the Praja Mandals was to force the rulers to grant civil liberties, freedom of expression, right to form associations, and to establish responsible governments in their States. As already stated, they never wanted annihilation of Princes but desired people's participation in administration.

Praja Mandal in their fight for political demands applied Gandhi's method of non-violence and 'Satyagraha' and thus they saved their states from falling a prey to violence, terror and communalism and could set moral standards in their political fight.

against the rulers. It may be recalled that in Rajasthan people's political activities began under terrorist hold. The credit must be given to the leaders of the All India States People's Conference in Rajasthan for converting the movement into a peaceful one.

Whereas the neighbouring British India was suffering from the blaze of communalism and Hindus and Muslims were indulging in ghastly riots, the States in Rajasthan were comparatively quiet and calm. Both the communities were working hand in hand for the fulfilment of their objective. However, some wily rulers did try to bring about disharmony among the people by infusing caste hatred and rivalry as is apparent from the sinister moves of the Bikaner ruler in 1947 who incited the Rajputs against the Jats. Similarly the State of Alwar and Bharatpur also faced the infused communal tension in Meo Jat conflicts which was largely the effect of the communal incidents happening in the neighbouring provinces of Punjab, Delhi and Uttar Pradesh. The leaders of the Praja Mandals denounced these acts in unequivocal terms and the rulers could not succeed beyond sowing the seeds of this perennial problem. Strange is the fact that caste prejudices and communal fray entered into the political life in Rajasthan States only after the declaration of Independence.

### The Ultimate Gains

The Praja Mandals and Praja Parishads became, in course of time a real headache to the rulers in the States who then adopted the policy of 'kicks and kisses'. But sooner or later, these organizations were recognised and registered by the States authorities and the demand for civil liberties was accepted. Permission to hold meetings and demonstration was granted and some relaxations in press censorship were also allowed.

The movements started by the Praja Mandals in Rajasthan became so popular and effective that the rulers of various States were compelled to grant some administrative reforms. They included Praja Mandal representatives in the Administrative and Advisory Councils. Though these representatives held insignificant positions and were devoid of any real power, yet a beginning in the direction of representative and responsible government was made. However their dream of full responsible government came true only when the States were grouped into different administra-

tive Units leading to the birth of a full-fledged State of Rajasthan on 15th May, 1949

### Leadership :

The leadership of States' People's Conference in Rajasthan came from the middle class of the society. They were intellectuals and belonged to the ready to suffer class who led the popular movement with dash and vision. Outstanding among them were Jai Narain Vyas, Arjun Lal Sethi, Vijay Singh Patil, Man kya Lal Varma, Hari Bhau Upadhyaya and Hira Lal Shastri who were not only popular in their own States but were largely accepted as leaders of the entire Rajasthan. The services rendered by Jai Narain Vyas to the cause of unification of Rajasthan were unique in form and precedence. He emerged as a dedicated and devoted leader with a clean personal record. Among the other notable leaders were Ram Narain Chaudhury, Gokul Bhai Bhatt and Gokul Lal Asawa who are still respected for their great dedication and services. All of them were Gandhians through and through, and they did not aspire for any political power after the birth of Rajasthan State. During the political movement stray instances are available to prove that not all of them were free from political opportunism and self gain. The action of Hira Lal Shastri in the controversial compromise deal with the ruler of Jaipur is not beyond doubt and suspicion.

The Praja Mandal leaders showed extra ordinary tact during the formidable period of transfer of power (June 3, 1947 to July 15, 1947) when they kept constant vigil upon the political manoeuvrings of the rulers. They were quick on their heels to apprise the national leaders of the same. When the young Maharaja of Jodhpur, Hanwant Singh was allured by M. A. Jinnah<sup>1</sup> to

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1 Jinnah tried to influence the Maharaja with one vivacious lady Mike Bred working as a nurse. The Maharaja was much charmed by her but hesitated to join Pakistan—Information gathered from personal interview with Suraj Prakash Pata on 7.6.1979 at Jaipur who worked as Personal Secretary to Jai Narain Vyas—Not getting any success Jinnah offered a blank sheet duly signed by him wherein the wavering Maharaja could insert his own terms and conditions for joining Pakistan—V. P. Menon—The Story of the Integration of Indian States—Madras 1961 p. 112

accede to Pakistan, Jodhpur Praja Mandal leader Jai Narain Vyas was prompt in informing Sardar Patel of the Maharaja's evil designs. Sardar Patel directed V P Menon to deal with the Maharaja. Menon took the Maharaja who was then in Delhi to Lord Mountbatten. Mountbatten successfully persuaded the wily Maharaja to sign the Instrument of Accession to India. Yet, Hanwant Singh expressed his grudges against it by taking out his revolver and threatening to kill V P Menon. The whole theatrical scene ended without any physical damage to anyone.<sup>1</sup> The Praja Mandals of Alwar and Bharatpur states were quick on their toes to give all secret information about the communal incitements by the Alwar ruler and his alleged hand in Gandhi murder case, and ultimately Sardar Patel taking drastic steps snatched away power from the hands of the rulers of Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur and Karauli and formed one administrative unit known as the 'Matsya Union,' on 17th March, 1948.

### A Memorable Role

It was the first step towards consolidation. Immediately following it eleven States of Kota, Tonk, Bundi, Jhalawar, Pratapgarh, Dungarpur, Banswara, Kishangarh, Shahpura, Lawa and Kushalgarh were merged to form the Union of Rajasthan on 25th March 1948. Subsequently, the Ministry of States asked the larger States of Udaipur, Bikaner, Jodhpur and Jaipur also to join the newly formed Union of Rajasthan. Next, these two Unions were combined together on 15th May, 1949 to form one composite state known as Rajasthan.

Thus the role of the Praja Mandals' leaders after Independence was not only directed at realizing the 'responsible governments' in the States but also aiming at the preservation of the basic unity of the Indian Union. They had come out of the narrow geographical limits to see the vision of a consolidated and strong Rajasthan. They, like all other patriots, were greatly interested in the maintenance of peace, progress, prosperity, security and unity of Free India.

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<sup>1</sup> V P Menon op cit p 113.

In the vulnerable State of Rajasthan whose borders stretch over hundreds of kilometers with Pakistan, a single unfortunate political adventure could have brought disaster to the entire country. The role of 'Praja Mandals' and 'Lok Parishads' in avoiding such a catastrophe is yet another glorious chapter in the annals of Rajasthan

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## APPENDIX I

### STATEMENT SHOWING AREA AND POPULATION OF STATES IN RAJASTHAN

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#### (A) RAJPUTANA AGENCY

	Area Sq Miles	Population
1 Bikaner	23,181	1,292,938

#### (B) EASTERN RAJPUTANA STATES AGENCY

2 Bharatpur	1,978	575,625
3 Bundi	2,205	243,374
4 Dholpur	1,173	286,901
5 Jhalawar	824	122,299
6 Karauli	1,227	152,413
7 Kotah	5,714	773,398

#### (C) RAJPUTANA JAIPUR RESIDENCY

8 Alwar	3,158	803,055
9 Jaipur	15,610	3,040,876
10 Kishengarh	837	104,127
11 Lawa	20	2,808
12 Shahpura	405	61,173
13 Tonk	2,543	353,687



(D) MEWAR AND SOUTHERN RAJPUTANA  
STATES AGENCY

14	Banswara	1,606	258,760
15	Dungarpur	1,460	274,282
16	Kushalgarh	340	41,153
17	Partapgarh	873	91,967
18	Udaipur (Mewar)	13,170	1,926,698

(E) WESTERN RAJPUTANA STATES AGENCY

19	Jaisalmer	15,980	93,248
20	Jodhpur	36,120	2,555,904
21	Sirohi	1,988	233,873

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## APPENDIX II

EXTRACTS FROM THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS  
OF DWAN AHADUR M RAMCHANDRA RAO  
A THE ALL-INDIA STATES' PEOPLE S  
CONFERENCE HELD AT BOMBAY ON  
17th DECEMBER, 1927

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### PRINCES AND POLITICAL EVOLUTION OF INDIA

There is a fundamental point to which I must make a reference That point, to put it in the words of Lord Olivier, is 'Whether and how far the relations now subsisting between the King and all other Indian States can be transferred to the execution of an Indian National Government not responsible as now to the British Parliament but to a federal Indian assembly " During the discussions in the Legislative Assembly on the subject of dominion self government for India during the last two or three years, the spokesmen of the government of India pointedly raised the same question more than once Sir Malcolm Hailey said that the Government of India would like to know " whether states would continue as heretofore to deal with the Governor-General in Council who is responsible to the British Parliament or with the executive government responsible to the Indian Legislature Is Indian self government to be confined to British India only or was it to be extended to the states also ? Are they to be dependent on the Crown or are they to be controlled by a new govern-

ment responsible only to the Indian Legislature instead of a government responsible to the British Parliament "

The constitutional issue thus raised by Lord Olivier and Sir Malcolm Hailey has been answered more than once by eminent Indian statesmen who are recognised authorities on Indian Constitutional Law. The contention that Indian States have entered into treaty relations with the Governor-General as representative of the British Crown and not as the executive head of the Government of India for the time being is without foundation. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer very recently examined the question again and has clearly expressed the opinion that "the treaties do not merely confer a personal right or obligations but impose obligations on the rulers for the time being of the Indian States in favour of the authorities for the time being in charge of the Government of India." It is not, therefore, correct to say that the treaties were entered into with the Crown, irrespective of this sovereignty of British India and if this sovereignty of British India is transferred by the Crown acting with the British Parliament to an Indian National Parliament the Indian States cannot claim to have any constitutional relations solely with the British Crown and independently of the Government as defined in a new constitution.

Sir Malcolm Hailey expressed the opinion that some kind of federation is the objective frequently suggested to the Government of India and his speech leads one to conclude that, in his opinion, some such federation would be necessary but that the terms on which such a federation should be secured between British India and the Indian States should first be settled. Sir Malcolm could not have forgotten the public pronouncement of the Indian princes in regard to the political evolution of India and should not have had any doubt as to their attitude. Ten years ago the Maharaja of Bikaner gave in a general way the answer to these points. He said "There can be no more mistaken view than that the Indian princes will look with disfavour or apprehension upon political development in India. On the contrary, they would rejoice to see India politically progressing on constitutional lines under the British flag." Nor do I see any

reason why the princes should hesitate to be constitutionally connected with a Government responsible only to the Indian Legislature. The states will have suitable representation in the federal legislature and in the federal executive that may come into existence and in all other federal assemblies for the control of federal affairs. A federal executive and a federal legislature in the making of which the princes and the people of states will have a voice would undoubtedly protect their rights very much better than a Government which is not responsible to them and the Parliament in which they have no representation. I do not therefore, believe that the Indian Princes as a body would not co-operate with us in coming into a federation with British India and in the political reconstruction of India. Their active help and assistance is necessary in attaining our ideals for the political emancipation of our motherland and we may rely on their lofty patriotism to come into line with the political aspirations of the people of India as a whole.

I have referred briefly to these vital aspects of the problem and do not feel called upon to take up any more of your time by the discussion of further details nor do I wish to refer to any of the schemes that are now holding the field. Our energies must be devoted to evolving a scheme acceptable to the Princes and the people of the Indian States and of British India. The further details of federal constitutions such as the composition of a federal legislature or of a federal executive the functions of the federal state the constitution of federal finance the exact powers of intervention to be reserved to the federal Government in the internal administration of the states and various other matters should receive detailed consideration only after the states are scheduled into (1) real sovereign States (2) States which are feudal in their character (3) States which are altogether, *non sovereign* and for that purpose I trust you will while agreeing to the general principles appoint a suitable committee to formulate a scheme purposely for final adoption by this and other Conferences of State subjects in the near future.

#### INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION

The characteristic feature of all the states including the most advanced is the personal rule of the Prince and his control over

legislation, administration and justice. The states are in all stages of development, patriarchal, feudal or more advanced while in a few states, representative institutions which have been described as the dim colourless copies of those prevailing in British India have been established. The new constitution of Mysore has received a considerable measure of approbation and is the only outstanding development of constitutional importance in the States in recent years. A Government which owes its success to the personal character of the ruler can never afford any guarantee for progress. Akbar was a great ruler and it was impossible even for an Akbar to provide that he should be succeeded by another Akbar. A settled constitution which recognises the responsibility of the administration to the people and containing all the essential elements of a popular Government is the only safeguard for the protection of the people.

### THE NEW ORDER

Many of the Princes have moved in the warm currents of world politics and are also cognisant of the reactions of world forces on India. As members of the League of Nations they have taken part in recasting the map of Europe and have pleaded for the self-determination of small nationalities and the protection of minority communities. They have also taken part in the financial, economic, and political reconstruction of many countries in the world, and in activities which have given a new sense of humanity to all nations. They cannot refuse to co-operate and give their helping hand in the political reconstruction of their own motherland. As members of the League they have had opportunities of surveying the political conditions of every country in the world and of realising that the divine right of the monarchical order is an anachronism at the present day. They cannot expect its continuance in their own states on the old basis. On behalf of the Princes of India, the Maharaja of Bikaner assured the League of Nations that they are entirely for the establishment of the rule of law. He cannot legitimately object to the extension of the same rule to the Indian States. As members of the Imperial Conference some of the Princes have strongly pleaded for new constitutional charter for India and for the establishment of dominion of self-government.

Gentlemen, the deliberations of your conference this year are of a peculiar significance and are particularly important for a variety of reasons. The National Movement in British India for the establishment of Swaraj has gathered increased strength and momentum and we are now pressing for radical alterations in the present constitution. Our ideals for the future Government of India have been sometime ago summarised by Lord Lytton in the following propositions:

- (1) We desire to see India free from any foreign domination
- (2) We desire to see India defended by armed forces consisting of our own people and acting under the orders of our own Government
- (3) We desire to see India governed by an executive answerable to a parliament elected by our people

We are thankful to His Lordship for having so correctly and so unambiguously stated in the British press the three fundamental ideals of our political faith. I refuse to believe that there is anybody in the Indian States be he a prince or a peasant, who will not wholeheartedly subscribe to these ideas and who will not do his best to realise them. A large vision of Indian political destiny has permeated all classes of people throughout India and that on this main question there is and there can be absolutely no difference between the people of British India and the Indian States. A free, strong, united, self governing and self-supporting India is our aim and ideal. In familiarising the people of the state with our national ideals your services are, therefore, invaluable and this conference is doing its best to bring the states into general harmony with the political developments in British India. The Indian National Congress, the Muslim League, the National Liberal Federation, the Hindu Mahasabha and other political organisations in British India are now actively engaged in examining the question of a new constitution for India. The All-India Congress Committee has charged the working committee of the Congress to frame a scheme in consultation with the various political parties in the country. I sincerely hope that this committee and the other political organisations will not content

themselves by framing proposals relating only to British India leaving the position of the Indian States in the new constitution undefined This will be very unfortunate It is therefore very desirable that the executive committee of this conference should secure the co-operation of the political organisations in British India without any delay and collaborate with them in devising a new constitutional character for the whole of India

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## APPENDIX III

### INDIAN STATES' PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE

First Session

#### DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

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##### RESOLUTION NO 1

This meeting of the representatives from several Indian States resolves to establish a permanent organisation for the Indian States' people to be styled the 'Indian States' People's Conference,' with its head quarters at present in Bombay

From the Chair

##### RESOLUTION NO 2

The chief aim and object of the Indian States' People's Conference is the attainment of responsible government for the people in the Indian States through representative institutions under the aegis of their rulers

Proposed by—Mr Purohit

Seconded by—Mr Amritlal L. Trivedi

##### RESOLUTION NO 3

This Conference resolves that an Executive Committee, consisting of the following 75 gentlemen with power to co-opt not more than seventeen members be appointed to organise and educate public opinion on the aims and objects of the Conference to give effect to the resolutions passed by the same, to collect funds and frame a draft constitution in accordance with the aims and objects herewith defined and to be submitted to this Conference at its next session for carrying out the work of the Confer-





States should be assigned a definite place and an effective voice in all matters of common concern in any new constitution that may be devised for the whole of India

Proposed by—Mr Govindlal

Seconded by—Mr Pathik

#### RESOLUTION NO 7

This Conference is of opinion that the plea put forward that the Indian Princes have treaty obligations to the British Crown wholly independent of the Government of India for the time being has no foundation whatever and is detrimental to the attainment of Swarajya for India as a whole

Proposed by—Mr Abhyankar

Seconded by—Mr Purohit

Mr Ghanshyamlal

#### RESOLUTION NO 8

This Conference records its emphatic opinion that the elementary rights of citizenship such as the right of association and meeting right of free speech right of free press and security of person and property have been hitherto denied to the people in a great many State and that these rights should be publicly acknowledged by the Princes in a Proclamation duly promulgated and further secured by suitable laws

Proposed by—Mr Manilal Kothari

Seconded by—Mr A V Thakkar

#### RESOLUTION NO 9

This Conference declares its faith in self reliant efforts as the most proper and effective means for the amelioration of the condition of the people and resolves that organisations may be started in the States to do the constructive work of Khadi temperance the uplift of the backward classes and the establishment and reform of village Panchayats and local self government institutions

Proposed by—Mr R H Thakkar

Seconded by—Mr Jamnalal Bajaj

#### RESOLUTION NO 10

That whereas the system of compulsory labour which prevails in the Indian States is inhuman and barbarous this Conference

## APPENDIX IV

N. C. KELKAR  
President

ALL INDIA STATES' PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE  
To

M K GANDHI

22th June, 1934

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The people in the Indian States desire to ascertain your individual opinion on certain matters affecting themselves so that they may move the Congress to consider, in the light of your opinion, the desirability of defining its policy on certain questions, more precisely than at present and of modifying it somewhat on certain others

The first question that we would bring to your notice in this connection is the necessity of the Congress taking up for solution problems *Pertaining to the States*. The Congress has now given up its traditional policy of 'keeping itself unspotted in the States'. It recruits members in the States and brings them under the control of its district and provincial Committees. The accession of strength that it has thus received from the States is by no means negligible nor are these members sleeping partners in the Congress activities, although these activities concern mostly British India alone. On the other hand, even in such movements as civil disobedience they have proved good comrades *in arms* and have cheerfully borne their share of the burden, realising that British India and Indian India are essentially one

and indivisible and that the concerns of one are necessarily the concerns of the other also

We think that time has now arrived for the Congress to respond to this spirit of good comradeship exhibited by the states people by putting all its weight and prestige behind their efforts at self emancipation At the Madras (1927) and Calcutta (1928) session the Congress no doubt pleaded for the establishment of democratic swaraj for the Indian States and extended its sympathy to the inhabitants thereof

While on this subject it will be well to refer to the apprehensions that have arisen in the minds of the Indian States people by passages in your speeches at the Round Table Conference You pleaded earnestly in this Conference with the rulers of the Indian States for allowing the States representatives in the federal legislature to be chosen by election and for allowing the fundamental rights of the States people to be written into the federal constitution and placed under the protection of the federal court But your pleadings on this occasion have given rise to an impression that if the Princes did not agree as they did not and do not agree you would accept a constitution in which provisions of the kind that you suggested did not find a place If this impression is well founded we cannot help saying and saying it straight out that you have done a grave wrong to the states people If you think that nomination by the Princes, for instance, must be acquiesced in, if necessary in the existing circumstances we will only beg you to refer the matter to the States people themselves, in order to ascertain what their wishes are in this respect The right of self-determination of the Indian States people is no less sacred than that of British Indians

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## APPENDIX IV (a)

M K GANDHI

To

N C KELKAR

JUNE, 1934

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The unusual demand upon my time is my excuse for delay in replying to your letter of the 22nd June, last

Instead of dealing directly with the points raised by you, I propose to define my own policy regarding the Indian States

The policy of non-interference in the affairs of the States that the Congress has followed is wise and sound

The States are independent entities under the British law That part of India itself which is described as British has no more power to shape the policy of the States than it has (say) that of Afganistan or Ceylon

I wish it were otherwise but I recognise my own impotence in the matter India of the states is undoubtedly an integral part of geographical India But that carries up no further than where we are today Portuguese and French India are also an integral part of geographical India but we are powerless to shape the course of events there

We enroll members from the States in the Congress We receive considerable assistance from them It is not want of appreciation or will that compels our non interference It is our helplessness

It is my conviction that any attempt on the part of Congress at interference can only damage the cause of the people in the States

But there is nothing to prevent us from urging the States to adopt a certain policy

I am of opinion that whatever we are able to accomplish in British India is bound to affect the States

I would like the States to grant autonomy to their subjects and would like the Princes to regard this and be in fact trustees for the people over whom they rule, drawing for themselves only a small and definite percentage of the income I have certainly not lost hope that the princes will deem it a pride to become real trustees of their people I do not seek to destroy their states I believe in the conversion of individuals and societies

What I said at the Round Table Conference was in the nature of an appeal made to the Princes It certainly did not imply that whether they listen to the appeal or not the Congress would enter the federation I had no authority to bind the Congress to any such thing The Congress entering the federation had to depend upon many other circumstance beyond the attitude of the Princes If ever federation comes It will surely depend upon mutual adjustment

I hope I have answered all the points you raised If I have not, please write to me again I have written this under great pressure of work

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## APPENDIX V

### CONSTITUTION OF THE ALL INDIA STATES' PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE

27 JUNE 1939

(States People Press, 138, Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay)

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The standing Committee of the All India States' People's Conference has finally adopted the following Constitution of the Conference at its meeting held on the 27th June, 1939

#### OBJECT

##### ARTICLE I

The object of the All India States' People's Conference is the attainment by peaceful and legitimate means of full responsible government by the people of the States as integral parts of a free and federal India

##### ARTICLE II

The All India States' People's Conference shall comprise (1) States Committees (2) Recognized Committees (3) Provincial Committees (4) General Council (5) Annual Conference (6) Standing Committee

##### ARTICLE III .

No person shall be entitled to be on the constituent committees of the Conference if he or she is a member of communal or any other organization, the object and programme of which involve political activities which are in the opinion of the Standing Committee in conflict with those of the Conference.

## PROVINCES

### ARTICLE IV

For the purpose of the Conference the States are divided into the following groups to be called the provinces of the Conference (1) Mysore and Karnatak States (2) Kerala and Madras States (3) Orrisa and Eastern States (including Bhutan) (4) Punjab and Frontier States (including Baluchistan) (5) Punjab Hill States (including Tehri Garhwal) (6) Kashmir and Jammu (7) Rajputana States (including Khairpur) (8) Central India States (including Benaras and Rampur) (9) Gujrat States (10) Kathiawar States (11) Maharashtra States and (12) Hyderabad

## STATES COMMITTEES

### ARTICLE V

States Committees are Praja Mandals or States People's Associations in individual States or group of States or such bodies working for individual States or group of States from outside as are affiliated to the All India States People's Conference under this constitution

## RECOGNISED COMMITTEES

### ARTICLE VI

It shall be competent for the Standing Committee to recognise Praja Mandals or State's People's Association inside the States or outside which are working for the people of the States on the lines of the Conference and which are willing to work in co operation with it. Notwithstanding the fact that they are not affiliated the recognised bodies shall be entitled to representation on the Conference and its constituent committees under the rules framed by the Standing Committee on this behalf

## AFFILIATION

### ARTICLE VII

(1) Any State People's Organization may be affiliated to the All India States People's Conference through the Standing Committee of the Conference provided it—

(a) enclose with its application a resolution passed by either its general body or the executive accepting the creed of the All India States People's Conference and expressing its willing



ness to work under the general supervision and guidance of the All India States People's Conference

(b) agree to send Rs 50/- or 10% of the membership fees whichever is less as annual affiliation fee and

(c) has a minimum of 100 primary members on its roll

(2) It shall be open to the Standing Committee of the All India States People's Conference to disaffiliate any such affiliated institution provided that due notice containing charges against the said association of not less than three months be given to such body of such intention to show cause why it should not be disaffiliated and the explanation if any furnished by the body concerned has been duly considered at a meeting of the Standing Committee of All India States People's Conference after giving specific notice of the subject and circulating the explanation beforehand

### PROVINCIAL COMMITTEES

(a) The Provincial Committee in each province shall consist of the representatives of the constituent and recognized organizations in that Province in addition to the representatives the president and ex presidents of the Provincial and the All India States People's conference

(b) Every Provincial Committee shall subject to the general control and supervision of the Standing Committee be in charge of affairs of that province

(c) The Provincial Committees will be competent to frame their own rules in conformity with the spirit of this constitution They will come into force after the approval of the Standing Committee or the Conference

(d) On failure on the part of any Provincial Committee to function in terms of the constitution the Standing Committee may form one to carry on the work of the Conference in that Province

### ELECTION OF DELEGATES

#### ARTICLE IX

(a) Every State Committee will be entitled to elect one delegate for the sessions of the Conference for one lac of the population of the State or States concerned provided the said Committee has 100 primary members on its roll for each such seat allotted to it

(b) The delegates of a Province will constitute the Provincial Committee This Committee will be entitled to co opt upto

one third of its members with a view to provide representation to the States or interests within the province otherwise remaining unrepresented

## GENERAL COUNCIL

### ARTICLE X

(a) Every Provincial Committee will be entitled to elect 7 members to the General council of the Conference The Council so constituted will be entitled to co opt upto one third of its member with a view to give representation to the provinces or interests otherwise remaining unrepresented

(b) Members of the General Council shall pay one rupee as fee to the Central Office before they are entitled to exercise their votes

(c) The General Council shall carry out the programme of work laid down by the Conference from session to session and deal with any new affairs arising during its term of office

(d) 30 or one fifth of its number whichever is less, shall be the quorum of the General Council

## STANDING COMMITTEE

### ARTICLE XI

(a) The Standing Committee will consist of 21 members including the President Each provincial committee will elect one member to this committee The President of the Conference will nominate 8 additional members of the General Council If any seat allotted to the provinces remains vacant for any reason, the President of the Conference will be entitled to nominate a member of the Genral Council belonging to the Province concerned to the said seat The ex presidents of the All India States People s Conference shall on their signing the creed be additional members of the Committee

(b) The Standing Committee shall be the sole executive authority of the Conference and shall have power to carry into effect the policy and programme laid down by the All India States People s Conference

(c) 7 will be the quorum of the Standing Committee

(d) The Standing Committee shall have power to frame rules and issue instructions for the proper working of the constitution and to meet emergencies otherwise provided for .

→to take such disciplinary action as it may deem fit against a committee or individual for misconduct, neglect or default,

→to superintend, direct and control all constituent committees

(e) The Standing Committee shall take steps to have regular audit of the accounts of the affiliated organizations

### OFFICE BEARERS

#### ARTICLE XII •

(a) The President of the Conference will continue to function till next session. He will also be the Chairman of the General Council and the Standing Committee of the Conference

(b) The President will nominate two General Secretaries and the Treasurer from amongst the members of the Standing Committee.

(c) The General Secretaries of the Conference will also be the Secretaries of the General Council and the Standing Committee

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## APPENDIX VI

EXTRACTS FROM THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS  
AT THE ALL INDIA STATE'S PEOPLE'S  
CONFERENCE HELD AT LUDHIANA ON  
15th and 16th FEBRUARY 1939  
by  
JAWAHAR LAL NEHRU

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### WILL OF THE PEOPLE IS FINAL AUTHORITY

Many people have, in past years, criticised the attitude of the National Congress towards the States and heated argument have taken place about intervention and non intervention. That criticism and argument have perished with the yesterday that has gone and are meaning-less today. Yet it is worthwhile to consider briefly the development of Congress policy in regard to the states. I have not always approved of all the expressions of this policy or liked the emphasis on certain aspects of the problem. But I am convinced that this fundamental policy was the correct one under the circumstances, and, indeed subsequent events have justified it completely. A policy, aiming at vital change or revolution must keep in touch with reality and the conditions that prevail. As these conditions change, that policy changes. Brave words and gesture or strongly-worded resolution, out of touch with objective conditions, do not bring about that pregnant atmosphere out of which revolutionary change is born. Nor can that condition be created artificially or mass movements launched unless the masses themselves are ready and prepared. The Congress realised

this and knew of the unpreparedness of the people in the states, it husbanded its energy in the struggle outside, well realising that this was the most effective method of influencing the States people and making them ready for their own struggle

The Haripura resolution was a landmark in the evolution of Congress policy and it enunciated this in clear language. The integrity and unity of India was an essential part of the independence we worked for and the same full measure of political, social and economic freedom was to come to the states as to the rest of India. There could be no compromise on this, and the Congress declared afresh in favour of full Responsible Government and the guarantee of civil liberty in the states. Further, it declared to be its right and privilege to work for the attainment of the objectives in the states. There was no question of non intervention the Congress as representing the will of the Indian people, recognises no bars which limit its freedom of activity in any matter pertaining to India and her people. It is its right and privilege and its duty to intervene in any such matter whenever the interests of India demand it.

The Congress knew well that the backwardness of the states hindered our national progress and that there could be no freedom for India unless the states ceased to be what they were. The Congress was eager to bring about this essential and vital change and yet it knew that the change could only come about from below when the people of the states grew self-reliant and capable of shouldering the burden of their struggle organized and It emphasised this. Not to have done so would have been to mislead and encourage vain delusion and delay the building up in the states themselves of an organisation which would represent the strength and will of the people.

### ONE MIGHTY STRUGGLE

The wisdom of the Congress stands amply justified today when we see the developments that have taken place since Haripura. All the states are astir and in many of them powerful mass movements are functioning. The people of the states are rapidly coming into line with the rest of India they are no longer a burden and a dead weight keeping us back. They are setting the pace for India today and our national politics are dominated by

their struggle. The time has come, therefore for the integration of these various struggles in the states inter se and with the major struggle against British Imperialism. There are no longer many different struggles going on for independence there is only one mighty struggle for India's freedom, though its aspects may vary and though its battle grounds may be many. As Gandhiji has said, the struggle for whenever it takes place, is a struggle for liberty for all India.

It is in the fitness of things that at this moment of vital crisis for the states, India's leader ever thinking of her freedom jealous of her honour, should step out and in his ringing voice of old that we remember so well give faith and courage to our people. Gandhiji's lead has finally settled all the old arguments that obscured the issue, and that issue stands out now clear and definite.

### THOSE TREATIES

We are told now of the so-called independence of the states and of their treaties with Paramount Power, which are sacrosanct and inviolable and apparently must go on for ever and ever. We have seen what happens to international treaties and the most sacred of covenants when they do not suit the purposes of imperialism. We have recently seen these treaties torn up, friends and allies basely deserted and betrayed and the pledged word broken by England and France. Democracy and freedom were the sufferers and so it did not matter. But when reaction and autocracy and imperialism stand to lose, it does matter, and treaties, however moth-eaten and harmful to the people they might be, have to be preserved. It is a monstrous imposition to be asked to put up with these treaties of a century and a quarter ago, in the making of which the people had no voice or say. It is fantastic to expect the people to keep on their chains of slavery, imposed upon them by force and fraud, and to submit to a system which crushed the lifeblood out of them. The only final authority and paramount power that we recognise is the will of the people, and the only thing that counts ultimately is the good of the people.

### CHOICE BEFORE THE PEOPLE

What is the nature of the conflict today? This must be understood. It varies slightly from state to state, but the demand everywhere is for full responsible government. Yet the conflict is

not at present to enforce that demand but to establish the right of organising people for that demand. When this right is denied and civil liberties are crushed no way is left open to the people to carry on what are called constitutional methods of agitation. The full establishment of civil liberties is an essential preliminary to any progress. *It is an insult to India to ask her to tolerate in the states Ordinance rule and the suppression of organisations and the prevention of public gatherings and methods usually associated with the gangster. Are the states to remain vast prisons where the human spirit is sought to be extinguished and the resources of the people are to be used for the pageantry and luxury of courts while the masses starve and remain illiterate and backward? Are the Middle Ages to continue in India under the protection of British Imperialism?*

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Statement showing the annual privy purse amounts guaranteed to Rulers of Indian States

## Orissa

Athgarh	36,100	Athmallik	48,500
Bamra	95,300	Baramba	22,700
Baudh	69,300	Bonai	52,800
Daspatha	33,500	Dhenkanal	89,700
Gangpur	1,35,100	Hindal	32,000
Kalahandi	1,14,000	Keonjhar	1,11,500
Khandagiri	33,600	Mayurbhanj	3,27,400
Narsingpur	28,100	Nayagarh	62,800
Nilgiri	40,000	Palahara	25,000
Patna	2,49,600	Rairakhol	29,700
Ranpur	25,000	Sonepur	76,700
Talcher	62,500	Tigiria	11,200

## Bihar

Kharsawan	33,000	Seraikhehla	88,900
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## Madhya Pradesh

Nand Gaon	3,53,650	Bastar	2,10,100
Kankar	68,700	Udaipur	50,000
Sakti	29,000	Chhuikhadan	20,300
Raigarh	1,72,600	Kawardha	63,800
Sarangarh	63,600	Korea	2,78,700
Khairagarh	1,02,300	Surguja	1,45,300
Jashpur	66,300	Changbhakar	17,300
Makrai	25,000		

## Punjab

Loharu	50,000	Dujana	34,000
Pataudi	48,000		

## Madras

Banganapalle	53,900	Pudukkottai	2,66,500
Sandur	90,000		

## Bombay

Ambaliara	26,000	Balasnor	68,000
Bansda	1,60,000	Baria	2,25,000
Bhaderva	29,300	Cambay	1,38,000
Chhota Udepur	2,12,000	Danta	92,000
Dharampur	1,50,000	Ghodasar	22,600
Idar	3,28,000	Ilol	8,750



Jambughoda	70,000	Jawhar	1,24,000
Khadal	14,500	Katosan	12,100
Lunawada	1,31,000	Malpur	40,600
Mohanpur	15,310	Mansa	40,000
Palanpur	2,75,000	Punadra	8,100
Radhanpur	1,29,000	Ranasan	17,100
Rajpipla	3,97,946	Sachin	72,000
Sant	1,12,000	Sudasna	28,000
Surgana	30,000	Valasna	10,660
Varsoda	12,500	Vasna	15,100
Vijayanagar	50,000	Wao	30,520
Sanjeli	29,150	Tharad	35,000
Vakhtapur	4,700	Likhi	2,690
Mandva	18,720	Dedhrota	2,140
Hapa	2,560	Sathamba	18,800
Umeta	19,200	Magodi	6 700
Palaj	3,500	Tajpur	2,530
Prempur	2,860	Kurundwad (Junior)	56,000
Akalkot	73,783	Savanur	30,316
Miraj (Senior)	85,800	Miraj (Junior)	50,454
Mubhol	55,300	Phaltan	1,40 442
Sangli	2,62,639	Aundh	75,212
Ramdurg	32,486	Bhor	89,042
Jamkhandi	91,163	Jath	49,924
Kurundwad (Senior)	49,924	Sawantwadi	1,07,500
Wadi Jagir	6,000	Janjira	1,33,500
Baroda	26,50,000	Kolhapur	10,00,000

**Uttar Pradesh**

Tehri Garhwal	3,00,000	Benaras	2,80,000
Rampur	7,00,000		

**West Bengal**

Cooch Behar	8,50,000
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**Patiala and East Punjab States Union**

Patiala	17,00,000	Kapurthala	2,70,000
Nabha	4,10,000	Jind	3,28,100
Faridkot	3,81,400	Kalsia	65,000
Nalagarh	60,000	Malerkotla	1,10,000

**Travancore-Cochin**

Travancore	18,00,000	Cochin	2,35,000
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**Madhya Bharat**

Gwalior	25,00,00	Indore	15,00,000
Alirajpur	95,000	Barwani	1,45,000
Dewas (Senior)	1,45,000	Dewas (Junior)	1,80,000
Dhar	2,90,000	Jaora	1,75,000
Jhabua	1,27,000	Jobat	32,500
Kathiawara	32,000	Khilchipur	60,000
Kurwai	60,000	Narsingarh	1,15,000
Raigarh	1,40,000	Ratlam	1,50,000
Sailana	70,000	Sitamai	48,000
Mathwar	6,000	Piploda	30,000
Pathar	18,250	Muhammadgarh	12,000
Nimkhera	20,000	Jamnia	12,000
Rajgarh	5,000		

**Rajasthan**

Alwar	5,20,000	Bharatpur	5,02,000
Dholpur	2,64,000	Karauli	1,05,000
Banswara	1,26,000	Bundi	2,81,000
Dungarpur	1,98,000	Jhalawar	1,36,000
Kishengarh	1,35,000	Kotah	7,00,000
Mewar	10,00,000	Partabgarh	1,02,000
Shahpura	90,000	Tonk	2,78,000
Jaipur	18,00,000	Jaisalmer	1,80,000
Bikaner	17,00,000	Jodhpur	17,50,000
Lawa	12,500	Kushalgarh	34,775
Nimrana	15,000	Sirohi	2,12,600

**Saurashtra**

Nawanagar	10,00,000	Bhavnagar	10,00,000
Porbandar	3,80,000	Dhrangadhra	3,80,000
Morvi	8,00,000	Gondal	8,00,000
Jafrabad	16,000	Wankaner	1,80,000
Palitana	1,80,000	Dhrol	1,10,000
Limbd	2,30,000	Rajkot	2,85,000
Wadhwan	1,42,000	Lakhtar	91,000
Sayla	62,500	Chuda	51,250
Vala	88,750	Jasdan	1,50,000
Amarnagar	1,00,000	Vadia	78,250
Lathi	77,500	Muli	53,000

Bajana	65,500	Virpur	44,500
Maliya	47,500	Kotda Sangani	67,000
Jetpur	1,21,536	Bilkha	1,00,000
Patdi	20,000	Khirasra	30,000
Vanod	38,430	Barwala	36,510
Katodia	192	Lodhika	15,690
Vasavad	34,400	Jalia Dava	16,135
Zainabad	33,800		

## Himachal Pradesh

Tharoch	18,100	Chamba	1,38,000
Mandi	2,20,000	Suket	60,000
Keonthal	39,700	Sirmur	1,35,000
Baghat	80,000	Balsan	11,250
Bashahr	80,000	Jubbai	1,01,000
Mahlog	16,500	Dhami	15,760
Bhaggi	16,000	Kuthar	9,000
Kumarsain	15,500	Baghal	18,700
Mangal	3,000	Kunihar	4,200
Darkoti	3,000	Sangri	4,200
Beja	3,000	Delath	3,000
Ratesh	3,000	Rawingarh	3,000
Dhadi	3,000	Ghund	4,200
Khaneti	4,400	Madhar	5,200
Theog	20,000	Koti	27,250
Bhopal	11,00,000	Bilaspur	70,000
Kutch	8,00,000	Tripura	3,30,000
Mampur	3,00,000		

## Vindhya Pradesh

Ajaigarh	74,700	Baoni	46,850
Baraundha	14,500	Bijawar	70,700
Chattarpur	1,00,350	Charkhari	95,900
Datia	1,54,300	Maihar	56,500
Nagod	55,400	Orchha	1,85,300
Panna	1,47,000	Rewa	10,00,000
Samthar	51,800	Alipura	28,150
Bankapahar	3,000	Beri	7,750
Bhaisaunda	5,600	Bihat	5,600
Bijana	3,000	Dhurwai	5,000
Garrauli	10,050	Gaurihar	15,000
Jaso	8,600	Jigni	5,950
Kamta Rajaula	5,000	Khanadana	15,600
Kothi	15,400	Lugasi	10,100
Naigawan Rebar	5,000	Pahara	5,300
Paldeo (Nayagaon)	10,400	Sarila	18,650
Sohawal	25,900	Taraon	5,850
Tori Fatehpur	7,000		

Statss which have not been affected by merger schemes :

Hyderabad	50,00,000	Mysore	26,00,000
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## पीडितों का पंछीड़ा

—माणिक्य लाल वर्मा

मर्दाप्रो रे<sup>1</sup> काली तो भादूडारी<sup>2</sup> राता मोव छा ।  
तन का कपड़ा भी खोवे छा । हों पड़्या पड़्या ये रोवे छा ॥  
घाँसू सु डीलडो<sup>3</sup> धोवे छा ।

मरदाप्रों रे—(1)

मर्दाप्रो रे । हाडा<sup>4</sup> थाने जाण सिपाई फूटे छा ।  
धन माल कमाई लूटे छा, दूजा के लूटे छूटे<sup>5</sup> छा ॥  
घाँसू मे भाई फूटे छा ।

मरदाप्रों रे—(2)

मरदाप्रो रे बेगरी<sup>6</sup> का जूला सिर पर लागे छा ।  
ये देख सिपाही भागे छा, बेगारी नाम सु बाज छा<sup>7</sup> ॥  
पहरा मे नितका लागे छा ।

मरदाप्रों रे (3)

मरदाप्रो रे शहना<sup>8</sup> को बो खाट तोडबो उट्रयो छे ।  
लोहू को गटको<sup>9</sup> छूट्रयो छे । लुण्यो<sup>10</sup> को हाडो फूट्रयो छे ॥  
यो नार<sup>11</sup> आरसू छूट्रयो छे ।

मरदाप्रो रे (4)

मरदाप्रो रे । दोड दोड छूट्रयो नजराणा<sup>12</sup> को देवो ।  
छाने छाने रिश्वत नेवो को पागन उल्लू को केवो ॥  
बलदा<sup>13</sup> ज्यूं रात दिना बहलगी ।

मरदाप्रों रे (5)

मरदाप्रो रे, दडक<sup>14</sup> दडक रुपियां की छन छन निठगी छे ।  
बठनी बची मब बटगी छे, पीसा और गाडयां मिटगी छे ॥  
परग्या<sup>15</sup> की बीमन पटगी छे ।

मरदाप्रों रे—(6)

1. हे पीरो, 2. भाद्रमास, 3. शरीर, 4. पशु, 5. बॉक्ते थे, 6. पारिश्रमिक रहित धर्म, 7. बहाने थे, 8. ज्ञानान का कर्मचारी, 9. स्वाद, पूंटे, 10. मवान, 11. सिंह, 12. द्रव्य, भेंट, 13. बैल, 14. गिनने की छवि, 15. विवाहित ।

मरदाघो रे, एकठ<sup>1</sup> थाकी देख सभा ने रोके छा ।  
बन्दे की बोली टोके छा । भूठा भू ता ने धोके छा ॥  
बिन बादल मोरया कोके छा ।

मरदाघों रे—(7)

मरदाघो रे, या का बालक हाय, कंबारा रहवे छा ।  
पण सूत, बराडा<sup>2</sup> देवे छा । घर भूखा रहबो सहिवे छा  
ये हाय निसासी लेवे छा ।

मरदाघो रे—(8)

मरदाघो रे, हाकम हाकम करता हारया छा ।  
सूँतां मे पूरा मान्या छा, घर मे नही बचता घान्या छा ॥  
सोमल मरबो धारयो छा ।

मरदाघों रे—(9)

मरदाघो रे, सुग कर अरजी एक देवता आयो छे ।  
जी को पतो नही पायो छे । बू टी सत्यग्रह लायो छे ॥  
सब लोगा के मन मायो छे ।

मरदाघो रे—(10)

मरदाघो रे, देखो आक्या खोलो सूरज उग्यो छे ।  
दूरो काकोजी पूग्यो<sup>3</sup> छे । पापी डो पडग्यो लुग्यो<sup>4</sup> छे ॥  
यो बीज धरम को बूग्यो<sup>5</sup> छे ।

मरदाघों रे—(11)

मरदाघो रे अब पचा के पापाई छागी छे ।  
नेता में खुटाई<sup>6</sup> आगी छे या बाड खेत ने खागी छे ॥  
या भूख ज्वाला लागी छे । लुगाया होगी नागी छे ।

मरदाघो रे—(12)

मरदाघो रे चेतो भ्रष्टपट नही तो पापण खाजासी ।  
तैयार रसोई पाजासी । नहि मिचसी टुकडो भी बासी ॥  
सब डील डाकणी छा जासी ।

मरदाघो रे—(13)

मरदाघो रे, थाकी हिम्मत अन्याया<sup>1</sup> के खटके छे  
मान अगल बगल मे भटके छे । थाने घबराए सटके छे ॥  
सत देख्या पाछा अटके छे ।

मरदाघो रे—(14)

मरदाघो रे, थाकी सत को नाम कालजे माले छे ।  
अब पसली पसली हाले छे । ये झूट अडगा घाले छे ॥  
पण अपरी चाली चाले छे ।

मरदाघो रे—(15)

मरदाघो रे, ये भी मिल कर एकट बरवा लाग्या छे ।  
अब अठी उठी ने भाग्या छे । रुपया करसा का खाग्या छे ॥  
भाडा खाली अब दाग्या छे ।

मरदाघो रे—(16)

मरदाघो रे, देखो थोकी चोटी हाकिम पकड़ेगा ।  
दोई हाथ बाध ने जकड़ेगा । सब रुपया थाका निकलेगा ॥  
मजबूती सू पाछा जकड़ेगा ।

मरदाघो रे—(17)

मरदाघो रे, हाथ जोड़वो छोड़ आग्या राती<sup>2</sup> कर दो ।  
खुशामद ने दूरी घर दो । झूठो अब मत पीवो जरदो ॥  
यो मरद नशो डीला भरदो ।

मरदाघो रे—(18)

मरदाघो रे, करायो ललकारी बडी घन्त मे घूमेगा ।  
खरला भी जीसू गूजेगा । हो रोग अन्यायी सूजेगा ॥  
पण थाका पाछा पूजेगा ।

मरदाघो रे—(19)

मरदाघो रे । वन्दे मातरम् गीत गावज्यो सब टोली ।  
वन्दूक्या की टलमी गोली । तलवार मूठ नू हो खोली ।  
पाप्या की हो जामी होली ।

मरदाघो रे—(20)

## मातृ—वन्दना

—जयनारायण व्यास

जननी दान दे, स्वार्थ भान दे ॥

तेरी नित रहे तान, वही गान दे ॥

तन मे बल, मन मे निश्चय, सुगुण सकल यत्न सफल,  
मटल मुदङ्ग निश्चय दे, हृदय विमल दे । (1)

स्वाभिमान ह्रम न तजे तदपि रहे निभिमान,

स्वाग तप सहिष्णुता, बलिदान ज्ञान दे । (2)

भाष दीजिये गंभीर, बने सखल वीर धीर,

तेरी अनुचित भक्ति, पगल ध्यान दे । (3)

तेरे पद शीश धरें, अर्पण सर्वस्व करें,

तेरे हित जियें मरें, विनय भान दे । (4)

## नानक जी भील माथें

—नयनू राम शर्मा

लेतो जाइयो नानक जी भील, अर्जो पचा की—लेता जाइयो जी

दीज्यो म्माकी अर्जो जावर परम पिता के हाथ

बून्दी की इलिया परजा की बीज्यो सारी बात ।

कह दीज्यो जहा तक म्हांकी, होगी नहीं, सुणवाई

मरबा उभर अबा छो सब बालक लोग लुगाई ॥

छोरा छोरी को घोकी मत लाज्यो थे रत्ती मन में ।

म्हें बांको छा, वे म्हां का छे, यो सुख दुख जीवन मे ।

तन ढक्का सारु न छीतरा, नारया डोले नाभी ।

फिर भी पापी थाके ऊपर, गोत्या भर भर दागी ॥

राजाजी दारु पी सता, गोला लूट मचाई ।

सब रंयत ने लूट लूट मोटी हेत्या चनवाई ।

डाबी का कुछ देश द्रोही बुरो देश की ताक्यो ।

दूज मोठो नाराणियो छावर थापर फदी नाक्यो ॥

रामकिशन हाकम इक रामो सुपरडेंट थोइक ।

नाजिम पन्नालाल या माथे रहसी सदा कलंक ।

धन-धन थारी जननी ने तू मरयो देश के काम ।

चाद मूरज बून्दी से जहा तक रहसी थारा नाम ॥

इतनी डाक खनायी छी, म्हे नानक धोर साथ ।

दूजी डाक ओर भावे छे, कह दीजे या बात ।

बहु तो दे म्हे एक किनारा पर हो रहसी बात ।

या तो अग्यायो मिटेगो, या म्हांका सिर साथ ॥

## स्याणा राणा जी

प्रजामण्डल गान

स्याणा<sup>1</sup> राणाजी<sup>2</sup>, होंजी स्याणा राणा जी

मुण लीजो म्हारा दुखडा राणा जी 'स्याणा'

मोटा मोटा ओदो<sup>3</sup> ऊपर विदेशियो रा घाणा जी<sup>4</sup> ।

गोरा नी पर भूरा है ये आधी नी पर काणा जी

आडा पडग्या आडा पडग्या यासू हार ।

म्हो सू उठे न अनरोभार, स्याणा राणा जी ॥

का ठा ठी ठी<sup>5</sup> रामा स्यामा<sup>6</sup> म जागीर्या लेवाणाजी ।रिषवत खावे इनाम पावे हवेलिया<sup>7</sup> भुक्वाणाजी<sup>8</sup> ।पडदे लदगी<sup>9</sup> पडदे सदगी या री नार<sup>10</sup> ।

हिबडे है सोना रो हार, स्याणा राणा जी ॥

मिले जठा तक खावा न ये राजभक्त केवाणाजी<sup>11</sup> ॥अठी<sup>12</sup> मिले न उठी<sup>13</sup> मिले या बात अणारी<sup>14</sup> जाणाजी ।धोखो देवे धोखो देवे खाय कुमार<sup>15</sup> ।

बदले लगे न घोडो बार, स्याणा राणा जी ॥

गडका<sup>16</sup> ने है खीर लापसी<sup>17</sup> मनखा<sup>18</sup> ने नही दाणाजी<sup>19</sup> ।वठी<sup>20</sup> बीजनी जगमग<sup>21</sup> करनी अठी न धूणी छाणी<sup>22</sup> जी ।ठडया मरता ठडया मरता मेला बार<sup>23</sup> ।पडती माह पोसा<sup>24</sup> की ठार, स्याणा राणा जी ॥— अणी वास्ते एकठ<sup>25</sup> कर म्हां परजामण्डल खोल्यो जी ।चुप रेवा को है आडर<sup>26</sup> पण, दव्यो गलो यो बोख्यो जी ।

याक गिया है याक गिया है हुग्रा घणा लाचार

जी सू ल्यो सत्प्राग्रह भार, स्याणा राणा जी ॥

- 1 सयाने 2 महाराणा, 3 ओहदा पद, 4 अधिकार, 5 दात निकाल कर खिलखिलाना, 6 महाराणा के सम्मेलन पारंपरिक सम्बोधन, 7 मकान, 8 निर्मित कराना, 9 परदे में 10 इनकी स्त्रिया, 11 कहलाना है, 12 इधर, 13 उधर, 14 इनकी, 15 बंभाकर, 16 कुत्ते, 17 लापसी, 18 मनुष्यों को 19 अन्न, 20 उधर, 21 जगमगाती, 22 धुनी कडे, 23 चिल्लते है 24 पोप माह की ठण्ड, 25 एवता, 26 आदेश ।



नींद उठाघो जगो भट सू भव हो जगो हुशियार जी ।  
 सत्ता<sup>27</sup> बरो रेयत न सौपी राजकाज रो भार जी ।  
 भुक्यो देखो भुक्यो देखो यो भग्रेजी नार<sup>28</sup> ।  
 होग्यो जाणे गीली गार<sup>29</sup> स्याणा राणा जी ।

म्है चावा तो वाग लगावा, म्है छावा रद करदा जी ।  
 होवादा नही होवादा, नही या पर बार ।  
 करा मेवाडी बेडो पार, स्यारा राणा जी ॥

### सपनो आयो

—हीराताल शस्त्री

सपनो आयो एक घणो जबरों रे, सपनो आयो ।

- बानी पीली आधी उठी,  
 चाल्यो सू ठ<sup>30</sup> घणो जबरों रे—सपना आयो (1)  
 पल को तो ही गया जल, जल को पल होयो  
 सपट पाट घणो जबरों रे—सपनो आयो (2)  
 डू गर टुट जमी मिलग्या,  
 देखो ख्याल घणो जबरों रे, सपनो आयो (3)  
 चोरस भोम मे डू गर बण ग्या,  
 इह माया जाल घणो जबरों रे—सपनो आयो (4)  
 टीबा उठ भव नदी बँ लागी,  
 फल पाट घणो जबरों रे—सपनो आयो (5)  
 नदिया सुख, र टीबा बण गया,  
 झेडव धड<sup>31</sup> घणो जबरों रे—सपनो आयो (6)  
 टणका<sup>32</sup> छा सो निमल होग्या,  
 निमला राज खणो जबरों रे—सपनो आयो (7)  
 तोसाखाना खाली होग्या,  
 खाली पेट भरयो जबरों रे—सपनो आयो (8)  
 ऊँचा छा सो नीचा उतर्या,  
 निचलो महत घणो जबरों रे—सपनो आयो (9)  
 म्हैला की तो<sup>33</sup> टपरी बण गई,  
 टपरी म्हैल घणो जबरों रे—सपनो आयो (10)  
 म्हा को सपनो साघो होसी,  
 समभो भेद घणो जबरों रे, सपनो आयो (11)

27. सत्ताह, 28 सिंह, 29 मिट्टी ।

30 लूफान, 31. रेत, 32. जबरदस्त, 33 कोपड़ी ।

## बरसाओ भीषण अ गार

—गोलक नाथ

हे हिमा-शु चण्डाशु बनो अब बरसाओ भीषण अ गार ।  
 जिसमे पडकर नोकरशाही हो जावे सब जलकर छार ॥  
 शरद शर्वरी शीतकार दिखला दो ऐसा श्रु गार ।  
 प्रखर प्रचुर प्रद्योत फेंक कर भस्मसात् कर दो ससार ॥  
 वह ससार ब्रिटिश शासन का जहा देश भक्तो का रक्त ।  
 जलिया वाला बना रहा है यत्र तत्र सर्वत्र प्रशक्त ॥  
 भगतसिंह, आजाद आदि को मृत्यु दण्ड देने वाले ।  
 लाल पाल मुनि बाल आदि का अहित सदा करने वाले ॥  
 तैयब बोस घोष गांधी को कारा मे धरने वाले ।  
 भारत मा की पूजाओ मे सदा विघ्न करने वाले ॥  
 अरे जला उन गद्दारी को साथ साथ जो बने गुलाम ।  
 देश जाति मा सत्य धर्म का सदा खटवता जिनकी नाम ॥  
 नोकरशाही के बल पर ही सजती जिनकी मधुशाला ।  
 भूगनयनी स्त्री के कर से भर प्याला पीकर हालता ॥  
 अरे ! सुधाकर, गरलाकर बन उबलित करो प्रलय-ज्वाला ।  
 मनवाली की जल जल जाये मधुशाला, हालता, प्याला ॥  
 पशुता बर्बरता का स्वामी सात समुन्दर पार भगे ।  
 जगे देश मे सत्य प्रेम बल तभी सुधाकर सौम्य लगे ॥

## भानिया रा दूहा

—उदयराम उज्ज्वल

गांधी दियो जमाय, भारत जाग्यो जोम भर ।  
 ऊँचो आज उठाय, मुजबल नेहरू भानिया । ।  
 भारत देश भूजग, नेहरू रो पू जी नचै ।  
 सेस नाग (सरवग) भारी जाग्यो भानिया । ।  
 आ परलै री आग, जायँ जठी जवाहरो  
 भाखर परतन्न भाप, भमम करे रै भानिया ।  
 पग पग जेला माय, गांधी री ऊमर गई ।  
 डोबर दयी छुडाय, भारत माता भानिया । ।  
 रटग्यो मन्न सुराज, धलबंत गंगाधर तिलक ।  
 उए नै सधिओ आज, भारत सगलै भानिया । ।  
 जकडी परतन्न जोस, पकडी माता लडपडै ।  
 बँटे पकडी बोस, भारत लकडी भानिया । ।  
 घोरँ बोस सुभास, जिम रचियो जनमेजयी ।  
 उड उड पडे अकास, भारत डसणाँ भानिया ॥

## भण्डा न नीचे भुजाना

—विजय सिंह पथिक

प्राण मित्रों भले ही गवाना, पर यह भण्डा न नीचे भुजाना ।

तीन रंगा है भण्डा हमारा, बीच खर्चा कमबत्ता सितारा ।

शान है यह इज्जत हमारी, सर भुकाती जिसे हिन्द सारी ।

तुम भी सब कुछ मुमीबत उठाना, पर यह भण्डा न नीचे भुजाना ॥

हे यह आजाद पन की निशानी, इससे पीछे है लाखों बहानी ।

जिन्दा दिल ही है इसको उठाते, मदं ही भीष इस पर चढ़ाते ।

तुम भी सब कुछ इसी पर चढ़ाना, पर यह भण्डा न नीचे भुजाना ॥

रे क्या भूले हो जिनिय न वाला, या वो टायर का इतिहास वाला ।

गोलीयों का लगी जब मड़ी थी, नीच आजादी की सब पड़ी थी ।

माद हो गए वो सू यो बहाना, तो न भण्डा ये नीचे भुजाना ॥

उसने तो क्या-क्या न जुलम ढाया, पेट के बल भी हमको खलाया ।

मां व बहनो का घर घर दलाया, कोर्सा पैदल बच्चों को खलाया ।

धीर अब भी न क्या हो रहा है, बोन मुख नौद में तो रहा है ।

लाखों पाउं न भरपेट खाना, सब बोली तो है जेलखाना ।

हे इसी से छेडा है यह तराना, होना आजाद या मिट ही जाना ।

बस बरसो अहद मर मिटेगे, पर श्रत से न तिल भी हूटेगे ।

कुछ भी हो यह सुत्व आजाद होगा, उजड़ा गुलशन भी आबाद होगा ।

गायें आज़ से सब ये गाना, हिन्द हीगा न अब जेलखाना ।

भण्डा यह हर एक किले पर चढ़ेगा, इसका दल रोज दूना बढ़ेगा ।

तोप तलवार बेकार होंगे, सोने वाले भी बेदार होंगे ।

सब कहेंगे कि सर ही बटाना, पर यह भण्डा न नीचे भुजाना ॥

शान्त हथियार होंगे हमारे, पर ये तोड़ेगे धीर के दूधारे ।

बस भला हो जो अग्नेज भागों, लोभ हिन्दी दूधूमत का त्यागे ।

वरना बदला है यह क्या ठिकाना, उससे बदलेगा सारा जमाना ।

हे प्रभो । मति धीर हो हम, टेक सत्यत्व पर हो रखें हम ।

हम क्या, वह उठा सब जमाना, दूध देखो न मां का लजाना ।

प्राण मित्रों भले ही गवाना, पर ये भण्डा न नीचे भुजाना ॥

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